

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

VOLUME III
1909

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

EDITED BY J. P. POSTGATE

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A PAGE of
M. Chatela
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ff. 106-113

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1909.

AN UNCOLLATED MS OF JUVENAL.

(*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 8072, ff. 94-113.*)

A PAGE of this MS, which however I discovered independently, is reproduced by M. Chatelain in his *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, and for an account of the codex I refer to vol. ii. p. 11 of that work. The volume consists of four parts: (1) Juvenal, ff. 1-47; (2) Persius, ff. 48-59; (3) Horace, ff. 60-93; (4) Juvenal, ff. 94-113. This last part contains Sat. i. 1-ii. 66, iii. 32-vi. 437, i.e. two intermediate leaves, the two outside double leaves of the first quire of eight, of 34 lines on a page, have been lost. The quires b and c are disordered. Foll. 94^v-97 contain i. 1-ii. 66, ff. 98-105, v. 98-vi. 437, ff. 106-113, iii. 32-v. 97.

The MS is written in a variety of hands of the 10th century, 34 lines on a page, without scholia and without titles to the satires. It is curious that this fragment of the uninterpolated tradition as well as P, Montpellier 125, may have belonged to Pithou.

No collation of this important fragment of the uninterpolated tradition has yet been published, nor has any use been made of it in any edition of Juvenal; but when I subsequently went to consult P in the light of this MS, I found that M. Nougaret, Professor at the College of Perpignan, who is engaged in a study of P, and to whose kindness and assistance I am much indebted, has known this MS for many years, and it was, I believe, he who first discovered this fragment and brought it under the notice of M. Chatelain.

The collation which follows was made with Bücheler's edition of 1893. I have not noted some slight differences in spelling, but on the other hand I have expressly noted many readings which agree with the printed

NO. IX. VOL. III. A

text where this seemed desirable for establishing precisely the character of the MS. I had also before me throughout Prof. Housman's critical edition of 1905.

SATVRA I. 2 Codri. 3 togatas. 13 semper et: et *exp.*, ego in *sup.*, 1 m. 16 dedimus syllae. 21 uacat ac. 24 patrios omnes. 25 iuuenis. 26 canobi. 34 fol. 95. 35 quem munere palpat. 38 noctibus. 44 lugdunensem. 45 siccum. 46 comitum *om.*: add. in *sup.* 1 m. premit. 47 prostrantis at hic. 52 heracleas: 1 m. in *sup.* herculeas. 55 sit capiendi. 63 nonne. 65 atque. 67 falsi. 68 fecerit. 70 rubeta. 73 parcere. 83 paulatimque. caluetur. 85 timor *habet*. 86 n. f. libelli est. 89 ioculis. 90 at casum. 98 ac falso. 99 accipias: *corr.* 1 m. a preto reuocari 102 fol. 96. 102 inquit ego. 106 purpura maior. 110 ne cedat. 113 pecua. 114 habitat. 115 pax firma fides. 126 quiescit. 131 meniere. 132 uestibulas. 134 caulis. 139 paratus: 1 m. in *sup.* uel parasitus. 143 crudus. 145 et noua. 146 iratus. 148 facient cupientque. 149 stetis. 150 dices. 152 liberes. 155 lucebis. 156 quae fixo pectore. 157 deducit. 158 uehatur. 159 despitia et. 161 uersum. 164 sequutus. 167 tacida. 168 irae. 169 animante tubas galea tum sero d. 170 fol. 97. 170 qui concedatur. 171 legitur.

SATVRA II. 1 hinc. 5 horum (est *om.*). 6 picta conemit. 7 archeti post pluteum: post *exp.* 1 m. 16 peribomius. 17 uultum. 19 peiores. 22 quod denter. 24 non quentes: non *exp.* 1 m. 26 uerri. 30 reuocabat. 31 ipsi. 34 uitia omnia. 38 atque ita. 41 spiranto probalsama. 43 acture. 44 omnes d. cantinia respicere pr. 45 qui plura. 49 Media. 50 Hippo. 52 ullostrepido: o in u *corr.* 1 m. 60 erit—dormit. 61 nobe in nube *corr.* 1 m. 64 *om.*: add. 1 m. in *fine* paginae, notisque in proprium locum reuocauit. 65 sed quis. ii. 67—iii. 31 *desunt*.

SATVRA III. 32 fol. 106. siccandam luuiem. 34 hic cornicines—municipales. 36 nunc cedunt. 37 cum iubet. 38 poricas. 39 magna ad. 40 locari. 48 extinctae—dextrae. 49 non in nunc *corr.* 1 m. 58 nunc. 60 obstat. 61 quod a portio. achaeae. 65 prostrare [*vide i. 47*]. 67 trece dipna. 68 feret. 69 amicdone. 75 putes. 77 macus. 78 iusseris. 79 in summa. 80 mediis et natus amoenis. 82 signabit—recumbet. 94 ait (*pro* agit). nullo. 97 et tenui. 100 fol. 107. 101 conspexit 104 *habet*. 105 aliena. 109 sanctum nil ab ing. 112 auiam. 113 *habet*. 118 caualli. 121 patitur. 130 nec prior. 131 seruo. 133 catilinae. 134—167 fol. 108, 168—201 fol. 107. *Transpositionis notas*, $\overline{\text{H}}$, add. 1 m., et 1 m. ut *vid.* fol. 107 in *marg.* 'sequens pagina prima legenda est ita signata $\overline{\text{H}}$ postea leges istam.' Fol. 108 $\overline{\text{H}}$. 134 atque iterum. 136 chionem. 138 idae procedat. 141 quod p. s. quod possidet agri. 142 iugera *om.* quam magna multaque parapside. 147 locorum. 154 si p. est de se puluino. 156 ex fornice. 157 plaudit nitidi. 158 pennirapi c. iuuenes iuuenesque. 164 mergunt. optat. 167 suo loco *habet*. 168 necabis. 171 inquam. 177 similesque. 182 ambitiosi. 185 ueinto. 186 barbas—amatum. 187 libris—accipite istud. 188 praestare. tributa *om.* 190 quid timet—ruina. 192 cabiis—arce. 193 mos urbem colimus t. tibicine. 197 est *om.* 199 ucale contabulata. 202 fol. 108 [vide *Chatelain*]. 203 Codro P. m. u. sex *om.* 204 abagi. 205 eodem marmore chiro. 207 opifici. 210 est *habet*. frustra. 211 iuuabat. 212 asturici. 214 tum. 215 accurrit. 217 preclarum. poluclyti. 218 haecasianorum. 224 paratur. 226 mouendis. 227 defunditur. 229 dare *om.* pittagoreg. is: g *exp.* 1 m. 232 eger—ipsum. 234 que mer. 235 urbem. 236 fol. 109. morbi prae clarum. 237 inflexu et tantis conuita. 238 druso. 240 superiora liburna. 241 uel dormit et intus. 243 obstat. 246 altera hic tignum capit incutit: post altera, t fortasse erasum, sed *incert.* an rasura. 250 sequitur *om.* 251 totuosa. 255 serra conueniente. 259 e. 262 unclis. 263 strigilibus et. cuto. 265 teatrumque. 266 portamea. 269 cerebro. 270 tecta. 271

cadant (*forte*)
fen. 278 ci
Rixa ubi tu
feriunt. dei
317 iaduū.

SATVRA I
7 quod [*sic*]
15 multum.
31 ructarit.
51 despastu
1 m. in *sup.*
possint—aeo
quamque.
(sed *incert.*)
96 tam fest
101 intelleg
117 fol. 11
125 inquit
135 figuū.
relictum est
143 echen
iuuenis sed

SATVR
uacuo. 19
113. 38 a
et multi.
habet. rog
fictus. 72
despitiat.
om. 95 rit
105 torren
114 magni
edis iugge
139 iusser
148 postq
1 m.). 16
explicit |

SATVR
13 compo
25 et *ant*
caligantes
porrigit.
58 nihil
clausicae
comodoia
85 sorori
iuuenta [
120 sed
tamen.
138 lamp
1 obst

character of
ical edition

sup., 1 m.
34 fol. 95.
46 comitum
m. in sup.
70 rubeta.
lli est. 89
to reuocari
ecua. 114
bulas. 134
146 iratus.
156 quae
4 sequutus.
170 qui

pluteum:
dior.
tia omnia.
spicere pr.
it—dormit.
proprium

pales. 36
extinctae—
a portio.
75 putes.
signabit—
conspexit
bet. 118
fol. 108*,
107* in
108* III.
possidet
si p. est
uenesque.
milesque.
nd. 188
93 mos
fol. 108*
re chiro.
n. 215
nouendis.
—ipsum.
et tantis
obstat.
rasura.
s. 263
a. 271

cadant (*fortasse ex cadunt*). quanta. 273 improbidus. 274 quod illa. 275 praetereunt
fen. 278 cecidit. 283 quae coccina. 287 dispensio et tempore. 288 prohemia. 289
Rixa ubi tu, i.e. si est *om.* 293 conche. 294 uerbis. 298 tantum demes te
feriunt. deidē. 300 pignis. 304 fol. 110. f. catenata est luit. 305 rem. 311 marra.
317 iādūdū. 318 annuit. 319 refigi. 320 uestamque. 321 conuerte. 322 auditor.

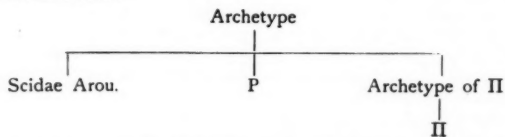
SATVRA IV. 2 patres. 3 aegre. fortes. 4 deliciae uiduas—spernatur. 5 qui refert.
7 quod [*sic semper*]. 8 n. magis felix minime c. 9 incestum—uitiata. 13 serioque.
15 multum. 16 equantum. 17 loquentur. 18 si. 25 pretio squamae. 28 quales.
31 ructarit. 33 facta. 34 licet et. 43 torrentis. 45 desinat. 47 litore. 49 fol. 111.
51 despastum. 53 palfyriosi. 59 uel urgueat. 60 suberat—dirutas er. uarent:
1 m. in sup. uel. uent. 63 ut cessit. 65 Iturada tridentem. 67 saginam. 71 non
possint—aequa. 72 mensura. 76 sedet arapta. 78 tum p. quorum opt. atque. 79
quamque. 80 temporibus quamque diris tractata. 81 iocunda. 83 terras—gerenti
(*sed r incert.*). 85 afferre. 88 locuturi. 89 direxit. 92 octogesima. 95 iam saeua.
96 tam festinata. 97 p. pars est et nobilitate. 98 gigantis. 99 misere. 100 numidos.
101 intellegit artos. 112 marmoream med. premia. 113 uellento. 114 uisa et flag.
117 fol. 112. 120 leuo. 121 beluas in p. 122 pecma. 123 uellendo. 124 percussus.
125 inquit. 127 excidit—berua. 128 in terga. 132 spatium colligat. 133 patinē.
135 figuli. Post 141 *spatium unius uersus relictum est*. 142 streā. (*O om.*). Sed *spatium
relictum est ut O magna forma insereretur, i.e. quasi nouam saturam induceret u.* 142.
143 echeni. 144 properes adhibere. 147 cathis—sicambris. 148 et. 149 precepit
iuuenis sed ep. 154 mandendi.

SATVRA V. 4 gabba. 8 uacat. 9 demedia. 10 possit. 12 quo tudis cumbere. 17 nec
uacuo. 19 sonum. 21 p^{er}geret (= perregeret). 23 boetae. 24 quo. 27 mappa. 29 fol.
113. 38 aliadum—berullo. 39 fiala tibi. 40 affixus. 41 acutos. 42 illi. 43 uirro
et multi. 46 beneuentanis uotoris. 47 at iam. 54 nollis. 61 forma sed. 63 post 64
habet. rogatus. 65 recubās. 68 mucidē: *sed e ex parte erasum, ut uid.* 69 morsu. 70
fictus. 72 artopte—figit amente. 75 planisque. 77 cucurrit. 80 distinguat pectori. 82
despiciat. 87 tibi cauliculis olebit. 88 dabitur. quod *om.* 89 cannā hic ipsarum. 91
om. 95 ritibus. 96 patimur. 98 fol. 98. quod captatorem ad lenas. 104 glatie—tiberinis.
105 torrente. 107 se praebat. 110 et ante fascibus *om.* 112 genes. hoc facies esto.
114 magni te cur. 116 spumat—tradentur. 118 maior est tibi halie frum. 119 C libia
edis iunge. 121 spectis. 128 sumit uetuis. 137 fratres. tamen *om.* 138 tunc fieri.
139 iusserat, *ut uid.* 140 figit uxor. 141 nunc migale. 142 semel. 146 portentur.
148 postquam nihil. 154 qui tegitur. 158 gyla. 161 uideres conuiua (*sic, expuncto e,
1 m.*). 163 coniecta. 166 fol. 99. canendi. 169 iacetis. Iuni Iuuenalis satirarum liber i.
explicit | Incipit liber ii. feliciter.

SATVRA VI. 4 communi. 5 montanat horum. 7 haud similis. 8 turbauit. 9 manus.
13 compositi uelut o. 14 fastigia. 15 sed sub ioue et ioue. 18 et pomis. 22 fulcri.
25 et ante sponsalia *om.* 28 ducis. 29 thisipone, *ex* sithipone. quibus exagitare. 31
caligantesque. 34 et 35 pungio. 35 exigitate. 36 ne queritur. 40 multorum. 43
porrigit. 46 nimium. 50 Pauca eade doceris: d. *exp. 1 m.* 52 tende. 57 fidens.
58 nihil a. i. montibus atim. 59 fol. 100. 60 uoto. 62 possit. 63 mollibus. 64 tunc
clausae. 65 subito. 70 acne, *ut uid.*; c. *aliquid erasum.* 71 risum nouet—atellana. 73
comoedia fibula. 77 ambrosiusque. 79 grandia ianua. 81 aut *om.* 82 eppia ludum.
85 sororis. 87 stupeas. 88 se quanquam. 91 apud. 93 egeum. 102 puppim. 103
iuuenta [*est om.*]. 104 eppia. 108 galea. 109 semper. 113 uegento. 114 eppia.
120 sed nigrum—galeno. 122 suam tunc. 123 prostitit. 126 *om.* 128 fol. 101 habuit
tamen. 129 rigida et entigine. 130 uires. 131 cenis. 136 censennia. 137 quingena.
138 lampada defert. 142 uibulae. 146 dicet. 152 sed habet. 153 quo iam—iason.
1 obstat. 158 dedit hoc. 159 nudo. 160 dementia. 166 feret. 167 uenusinam.

172 depone. 176 gente. 177 niobene. 179 rari sumique. 183 diem. 187 mera
 cecropis. 192 tunc etiam—octogesimus. 196 fol. 102 inguem. 197 uttamen, ex uitamen.
 207 summitte caput. 208 amanti. 209 ipse. 213 nollet: l alterum exp. 21 m. 214
 excludatur. 219 seruus. 222 fecerit. 225 permutatque. 229 fiunt. Post 232 spatium
 31 versuum relinquatur. Fol. 103, 233 hic om. post 251 habet et not. add. qua suo
 loco ante 234 in initio pag. inseritur. 235 tunc. 236 onerosque p. iacta. 237 et
 habet. 238 morae silet—ducit. 240 atque. 247 uel. 248 rudibus. 251 agitet. 252
 prestare. 256 manicae. 258 puella, ex puellas. 264 ridet. 270 cum. 271 gemitus.
 272 ficta. 274 expectantibus. 276 tunc uruca. 277 lectura. 278 legantur—moechi.
 280 dic a. s. hic. 282 possum. 285 de crimine. 287 prestabat. 288 sinebant. 290
 Inter manus et ac spatium 11 vel 12 litt. relictum est. 292 Inter mala et saeuior
 spatium 4 vel 5 litt. 295 indos. 297 tarentus. 301 fol. 104. 304 uertice. 306 I nung
 et: g in c corr. 1 m. 307 om. 310 siphontibus implent. 316 ululante priapi. 320
 positas aut feta. 321 attollit. 322 fluctum. 323 palma aequa. 325 aequo (pro aeuo).
 328 ac pariter toto—repetitus. 329 si dormit. 332 uenit et. 337 penen. 338 caesaris.
 339 illud testiculis. inde. 341 figuras. 342 numinis om. 343 simpulum. numen
 nigrumque. 345 claudius. Ante 347 notas habet quas non intelligo, sic Pōne . . . ipsos.
 prohibe. 349 ipsis (pro summis). 350 q"=quae [sic etiam 406, 413]. 354 cui mandes
 mandata: corr. in des 1 m. 363 rediuius. 364 tollatur semper. 365 non numquam
 reputant q. sibi g. constant. Post 365 nullum lacunae uestigium, sed uide ad 232. 369
 quod iam. 370 fol. 105. 371 spectatos. 372 bilibri. 373 dampno tantum. uersus inter
 373 et 374 non habet. 379 si gaudet. 385 appe. 386 et farre. 389 stibus erga om.
 393 nunc: ex dic corr. 1 m. 395 quod uideo. 402 fiet. 404 diripiatur. 407 cometē.
 409 niphate. 410 arma. 411 nutare. 413 quae. 415 exorata. 426 urna. 428 rapidam.
 429 et loto terram. 430 aurata. 433 nausiat. Post 437 (in fine fol. 105^r) deficit.

The most obvious importance of this MS, which I propose to call II, is, that it establishes with certainty the original reading of P in a great number of cases, where owing to correction this is no longer legible. The question at once arises whether II is a copy of P or an independent MS derived from the same archetype. Let me state at once that the relationship of the two MSS appears to be as follows:



- (1) Many of the peculiarities of II would be most improbable in a copy of P.
- (2) II does not share many of the peculiarities of P, e.g. i. 38, 85; iii. 167; vi. 237, 310, 328.
- (3) II often preserves peculiarities of the archetype more faithfully than P, e.g. iii. 141 quod . . . quod II, quot . . . quod P.
- (4) (a) II often agrees with S, the lemmata of the scholiast, against P; iii. 186 barbam P, barbas (corr. in barbam 2 m.), S barbas II; iv. 122 pecma IIS; v. 23 boetae II, boete S, bootae P.
 (b) II sometimes agrees with the substance of the scholia, Σ, against

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In es
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 following p
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 vi. 232 a
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 vi.
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both P and the lemmata; iii. 211 iuuabat II, iuuabit P, tectoque iuuabit. suscepit S; vi. 93 egeum II, igneum P (ionium p), id est de tyrreno ad adriacum et de adriaco ad egeum transitura erat S; vi. 264 et ridet II, et ride P. Et ride positus scaphium. et cum posuerit arma post meditationem, et ut ceperit us ut bibat, ridet¹ S.

- (5) Lastly in P, vi. 251 is the last line of a page, fol. 34^v. Now in II vi. 233, which is omitted from its proper place, follows line 251 in the middle of a page. It is therefore practically certain that the archetype of II was a MS of similar paging to P and Arou, but in which l. 233 having been omitted from its proper place was naturally added as the last line of the page, with the necessary marks to show its place of insertion. Since therefore there are many indications that the archetype of P did not have 29 lines to a page, it seems probable that the immediate archetype of II was brother to P, and that II itself is nephew.

In establishing the importance of II as a witness to the text of Juvenal, it is obvious that the points of greatest significance are the peculiar agreements of II with the scholia Σ. But I should like further to draw attention to the following points:

- i. 2, Codri II ψ (the interpolated MSS), Cordi PΣ; iii. 134 atque iterum II ψ, aut iterum P; 157 plaudit II *et alii*, plaudat P; vi. 153 iason II ψ, iasum P; 238 morae II ψ, mora, ut vid., PS; 415 exorata II ψ, exortata P.

Lastly, are we to see in the space of 31 lines which is left vacant after vi. 232 a trace of the lacuna filled by the Oxford fragment?

Deliberate interpolation in this MS is very rare. I have noted the following apparent instances, and these only:

- i. 115 pax firma fides.
- iv. 8 Nemo magis felix II, Nemo maius² f. PS, malus Σ.
- iv. 144 properes adhibere II, exhibere P.
- vi. 372 bilibri II, bilibros P.

It is doubtful whether the reading vi. 285, de crimine, is an interpolation or a genuine tradition. More probably it is the former.

II.

If there were published an accurate account of the readings of P, not much more would remain for me to say. But Bücheler's account as given in his edition of 1893 is sadly incomplete and inaccurate, and though some of the omissions can be supplied from Jahn, it will only be when

¹ Not *ride* as in Bücheler.

² Maius, *not* malus, is the reading of the first hand.

M. Nougaret publishes his very thorough and excellent work on this MS that the readings of P will be certainly known. Meanwhile I think it is worth while and almost necessary for me to correct Bücheler's account of P where his omissions or errors obscure its relation to II. These excerpts will eventually have additional value as the evidence of a third person by which the comparative merits of M. Nougaret's and Bücheler's collations can be judged. I shall not here repeat those very important corrections which I have already found it necessary to make.

SATVRA I. 13 semper et: 2 m., ut uid., in marg. ego. 35 palpat postea add. 1 m. altera pluma. 38 nontib. 47 et hic: 2 m.(?) in sup. at. 73 parcere, 1 m. 90 at casum, 1 m. 106 purpura ma-or, 1 m. 152 liberes, ut uid. 1 m. 161 uer-um, ut uid. uersum, 1 m. 167 tacida. 169 animante tubas: o in sup. additum et erasum. 171 legitur, 1 m.

SATVRA II. 1 hic in hinc corr. 1 an 2 m. incert. 7 archetypus-pluteum (t erasum). 16 peribomius: i in sup. 1 m. 34 ultima: in ras. 2 m. 41 spiranto p-obalsama. 44 cantinia, 1 m.; scantinia, 2 m. 52 Nouimus, 1 m. ullos trepitu, 1 m. 65 qui: d in ras. 2 m.

SATVRA III. 34 municipales, 1 m. 36 nunc cedunt, 1 m. 77 macus, 1 m. 78 sseris, i.e. iusseris, ut uid., 1 m. 80 et ut uid. 1 m. 118 caualli, 1 m. 133 catilenae (l erasum). 138 idae, 1 m. 141 quod-agri [?], 1 m. 147 locorum, 1 m. 154 et de in ras. 2 m. ut uid. S dete in dese corr. 2 m. ut uid. sed incert. 171 inqua., 1 m. (m erasum). 187 accipi-et istud. 192 cabiis. 199 ucalecon tabulata. 204 abagi. 207 opi....: 2 m. in ras. zi. S Et diuina opifici. opizin greci dicunt etc. 226 mouendis. 262 unclis, 1 m. 263 strigilibus—cuto. S cuto. 270 te-ta. 273 improbidus. 274 quod. 275 praetereunt fenestrae, 1 m. et S. 278 c-cidit. 294 uerbicis. 298 tantum demest-feriunt. 319 refigi.

SATVRA IV. 3 aegr.: Lit. erasa incert. 5 qui refert, 1 m., quid, 2 m. 7 quod. 8 vide supra. 9 incestum, 1 m. 15 multum ex mullum, 1 m. ut uid. 60 seruati: t in ras. 1 m. et post t ras. 2 uel 3 litt. 71 aequa.: S aequae potestas. 76 sedit rapta (1 lit. erasa). 83 terra: s add. in sup. 1 m. 88 locuturi: non s sed interpunctionis lineolam post i erasam esse opinor. 99 misero: interpunctio non littera post o erasa. 101 intelligat ex intelligit: corr. 1 m. ut uid. 112 marmorea: m ut uid. erasum. 114 uisa-fragrabit: uisa in uisae corr. 2 m. 124 percussu: s add. in sup. 1 m. Post 141 non uersus, sed titulus erasus. Reliquiae quadrant cum De cenis contumeliosis [vide Housman, T]. 142 ostrea in ras. ex O....., 1 m. 143 echeni. 149 precipiti-uenisset.

SATVRA V. 19 sonum, ut uid., 1 m. 21 per-egeret (non—it). 23 bootae P, boete S. 63 post 64 habet. 69 morsu, 1 m. 72 fingi-amen te, 1 m. 75 p-anisque, 1 m. 80 pectori, 1 m. 82 despici-at: lit. erasa incert., fortasse u. 87 cau-llis. 88 quod om. add. 2 m. 95 ritibus, 1 m. 112 genes, 1 m. 114 iecur, ex tecur. 118 maiores-tibi haue. 119 o libiae disiunge. 139 iuserat, ut uid. 1 m. 140 faigit [?], ut uid. 1 m. 154 tegit: tur add. in sup. 1 m. 166 canendi, 1 m.; cenendi, 3 m.

SATVRA VI. 5 montanatorum: h in sup. 1 m. 7 aut: h in sup. 1 m. 9 manus, 1 m. sed altera pluma. 15 sed sub ioue et ioue, 1 m. 29 thisipone: quibus add. in sup. 1 m. 35 ex-git: non amplius 2 litt. eras., 1 uel 2 m. ex-git a te. 50 paucaeade-ocereris. 64 tucclausicae. 71 nouet, 1 m. 73 comoedi: a erasum. 93 vide supra. 113 uelento. 120 sed, 1 m.; et 2 m. ut uid. aleno P, galeno S. 129 rigida-entigine, 1 m. 131 cenis,

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1 m. 138 lampade 1 m.; lampadae feruet, 2 m. 192 tunc, 1 m. 196 inguem, 1 m.
 197 uttamen *ex* uitamen [?], 2 m. 236 onerosa-que P; oneros atque pallia iactat S.
 264 *vide supra*. 343 nume- nigrumque. 345 claudius, 1 m. 433 nausiat, 1 m.

It seems to me worth while to conclude this article by noting a few instances where I have found the critical notes of Prof. Housman's edition of 1905 incorrect on the readings of MSS other than P. His authorities are, I fancy, mainly to blame.

Intro. p. ix, Florilegia Parisina 7646. The number is apparently wrong, nor did I succeed in identifying the MS referred to.

Sat. iv. 25, Paris 9345, *precium* (*not pretio*).

vi. 285, Paris 7906, a crimine (*not e crimine*).

vii. 157, Paris 7906. The piece of the MS which would contain the word '*uelint*' is now absent, owing to damage by fire. It is almost impossible that this loss has taken place since Forster's collation.

viii. 148, Vaticanus 2810, multo sufflamine (*not sufflamine multo*).

viii. 229, Paris 9345, menalippes; vel pi [*in sup.*] (*not melanippes*).

Lastly, in Sat. vii. 156, Ottobonianus 2884, Barberinus viii. 18, and Casanatensis A. v. 27, all read '*diuersa fronte*,' which, as accounting for the readings both of P and of ψ , seems to me probably correct.

C. E. STUART.

THE NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE-ABLATIVE PLURAL OF *DEVS* AND *MEVS* IN PLAUTVS.

IN *Hermathena*, vol. xiv., pp. 338-359, Professor Charles Exon attempts to prove that the nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *deus* were disyllabic in Plautus.¹ The argument upon which he lays most stress is briefly this: Plautus uses iambic words shortened by the law of *breves breuiantes* in the thesis (*i.e.*, the accented part of the foot) of iambic and trochaic verse about twice as often as he does in the arsis, whereas the long monosyllable *cor* occurs in dialogue with equal frequency in both parts of the foot. In this respect the nom. pl. of *deus* agrees with the shortened iambi, and should therefore, he thinks, be considered one of them.

Unfortunately Professor Exon contented himself with the examination of the 18 occurrences of the nom. of *cor*, only 9 of which appear in the thesis. By adding to these the examples from Plautine dialogue of the acc. of *cor*, of the monosyllabic cases of *aes*, *bos*, and *crus*, and of the adverb *cras*,² we get a total of 81 instances, of which 52, or 64 per cent., occur in the thesis. A tendency to use monosyllables about twice as often in the thesis as in the arsis is not so 'inexplicable' as Professor Exon thinks (p. 351). It is due to the fact that long syllables in general are about twice as frequent in that part of the foot, or, in other words, to the fact that, after all, Plautine verse is rhythmical. It must not be supposed, however, that all long monosyllables are subject to such a tendency; many unemphatic words, such as *et*, *est*, *aut*, naturally tend to be placed in the arsis. At any rate, the behavior, in this respect, of the group of long monosyllables examined is practically the same as that of shortened iambic words: both occur about twice as often in the thesis as in the arsis. This line of argument, therefore, cannot help us to decide to which group the nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *deus* belong.

That they were really monosyllables is shown, I think, by the fact that all iambic words must frequently be read in Plautus with full trimoric value, whereas it is never necessary to read the nom. and dat.-abl. of *deus* in that way—at least in passages where the reading is clear. Professor Exon tries to minimize the force of this consideration by showing that the undoubtedly disyllabic acc. pl. *deos* departs nearly as far from the normal behavior of iambic words as do the cases under discussion. Other iambic words, he says, must count as such in about 77 per cent.

¹ I have discussed this point in my dissertation, entitled, 'Contraction in the Case-forms of the Latin *is* and *id* Stems, and of *deus*, *is* and *idem*,' Chicago, 1902, and the following remarks are merely supplementary to what I have said there.

² See references in Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, s.v.

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of their occurrences, *deos* in 7 per cent., and the nom. pl. of *deus* in about 2 per cent.

In the first place, this statement of the case is not quite exact. We must remember that in the three places where Professor Exon thinks that 'the nom. pl. of *deus* is necessarily scanned as a disyllable' the manuscript reading is *di*, for which *diui* is as easy an emendation as *diei*, the reading which he prefers. But, granting that he is right about these three places, 3 is not quite 2 per cent. of 290,¹ the total number of instances of the nom. pl. of *deus* in Plautus. Again, we ought to include the 25 occurrences of the dat.-abl.—all of them dimoric—since the argument is supposed to hold for these cases too. The true ratio of the trimoric instances to the total, then, is rather less than 1 per cent.

Professor Exon recognizes only 4 certain instances of *deos* with full iambic value (*Cas.* 670, *Rud.* 191, *Ba.* 387, *Cist.* 242). To these should certainly be added *Poen.* 950:

Deós deasque uéneror qui hanc urbém colunt.

Professor Exon seriously overstates his case when he refers to this as a line 'which it is generally agreed should be altered.' The reading given above, which is found both in the Palatine manuscripts and in the Ambrosian palimpsest,² is accepted without question by Goetz and Loewe in their editio maior, by Goetz and Schoell in the smaller Teubner text, by Leo, by Lindsay, and by Lodge in his *Lexicon Plautinum*. As far as I can discover, the only scholars who have wanted to emend the line are Studemund, Abraham,³ and Exon himself. Abraham and, I suppose, Studemund object to the iambic *deos* because this is the only place where the word forms the first foot of an iambic line. Such a consideration, of course, cannot outweigh the manuscript authority which we have quoted above. As a matter of fact, lines which open with an iambic word plus an amphibrach are comparatively rare.⁴ Plautus, however, introduces seven other lines in the same way. I quote two of them:

Pers. 352

Feránt eantque máxumam malám crucem.

Pers. 369

Maló cauere méliust te. At si nó n licet.

The other examples are *Aul.* 75, *Ba.* 883, *Ep.* 42, *Ps.* 1078, *Rud.* 324.

Iambic *deos* in *Rud.* 6 is rejected by Professor Exon because it stands in a prologue. No account is taken of the fact that the prologue of the Rudens

¹It is possible that Professor Exon meant to include his conjectural restoration of *diei* for *di* in *Ps.* 767 and for *diui* in *Aul.* 50; 5 is about 2 per cent. of 291 (*Ps.* 767 is, of course, included in the 290 instances mentioned in the text). It should be clear to every one, however, that such uncertain conjectures cannot be admitted in evidence.

I have previously (*l.c.* p. 19) given the number as 287. Now, of course, I must include the three instances in which, for the sake of the argument, the reading *diei* instead of *diui* is granted.

²On the cogency of such a consensus of the two families of manuscripts see Lindsay, *Ancient Editions of Plautus*, p. 150.

³Abraham, *Studia Plautina*, p. 204, ascribes his emendation to Studemund without reference. I cannot find Studemund's treatment of the line. Did he make the suggestion in conversation or by letter?

⁴Klotz, *Altromische Metrik*, p. 237, is wrong in thinking, apparently, that the opening of Ter. *Ad.* 392, *pudet pigetque*, is more usual than *minas decem* (*Ad.* 242), etc.

stands on a very different footing from that of most of the prologues. The burden of proof undoubtedly rests upon those who would reject it or any part of it, but Professor Exon dismisses it with five words. Dziatzko, *Rh. Mus.* xxiv. pp. 570-584, demonstrated the genuineness of parts of it.¹ Marx, *Greifswalder Programm*, 1892/93, argued that the first section (ll. 1-31) is from an Attic source and therefore, of course, Plautine.² The prologue of the *Rudens* begins as follows:³

- Qui géntes omnes máriaque et terrás mouet,
Eiús sum ciuis clúitate caelítum.
Ita sum út uidetis spléndens stella cándida,
Signúm quod semper témpore exoritúr suo
5 Hic átque in caelo. nómen Arcturósti mihi.
Noctú sum in caelo clárus atque intérr deos,
Intér mortális ámbulo intérdius.
Et ália signa dé caelo ad terram áccidunt:
Quíst ímperator díuom atque homínium Iúppiter,
10 Is nós per gentis áliud alia dísparat,
Qui fácta homínium, móres, pietatem ét fidem
Noscámus, †ut quemque ádiuuet opuléntia.
Qui fálsas litis fálsis testimóniis
Petúnt quique in iure ábiuranti pecúniám,
15 Eorúm referimus nómina exscripta ád Iouem.
Cotídíe ille scít quis hic quaerát malum.

Lines 6 and 7 were suspected by Marx (*l.c.*) because they are inconsistent with his understanding of *hic* in line 5 as equal to *in scaena*. Leo included line 8 within the brackets. And, indeed, consistency required that he should do so, for the *ad terram* of line 8 goes no better with his and Marx' understanding of *hic* than does the *inter mortalis* of line 7.⁴ But if line 8 is rejected, *nos* in line 10 is extremely harsh, and with line 10 we have to throw out the entire passage about Jupiter's detective and judicial system (ll. 6-31). All this really constitutes a powerful argument in favor of interpreting *hic* in line 5 as *in terra*—an interpretation which its obvious antithesis to *in caelo* might have suggested at the outset. There is, then, no reason at all for suspecting line 6.⁵

Accordingly there are 6 cases of trimoric *áeos* in Plautus out of a total of 58, or a trifle more than 10 per cent. The percentages that are to be compared are 1 for the conjectural trimoric nom. and dat.-abl. pl., 10 for *áeos*, and 77 for other iambic words.

¹Cf. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, pp. 191 f.

²So I gather from Leo, *l.c.*, p. 192. I have not seen Marx' article.

³The text is that of Goetz and Schoell.

⁴I am not sure that this was Leo's reason for condemning the line. In his note he refers to Dziatzko (*l.c.*), who objected to the verse because

accidunt stands where we should expect *descidunt*. Professor Knapp calls my attention to the use of *accido* in the same sense in Lucr. iv. 215 and Caes. *B.G.* iii. 14.

⁵This line of argument was suggested by my colleague, Professor Charles Knapp.

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It is still quite true that the behavior of *deos* is very different from that of other iambic words. Of that curious fact, however, Professor Exon has suggested a very interesting explanation (pp. 355 ff.). The only point with which we are now concerned is that the marked difference between the behavior of the nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *deus*, on the one hand, and of the acc. pl. on the other, has so far been explained in only one way: viz., by the hypothesis that the former were monosyllables. In the absence of conflicting evidence that hypothesis will have to stand, and editors will continue to emend to *diui* rather than to *dēi* or *dei* where either word is metrically possible.

We have noticed incidentally that Professor Exon assumes as the disyllabic nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *deus* a form with *i* in the penult. This sound, he thinks (p. 341), had by the time of Plautus developed from *ē* in the nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of all *eo*-stems: *meus*, for example, made in the nom. pl. *miei* (i.e. *miē*), and in the dat.-abl. pl. *mieis* (i.e. *miēs*).¹ We are not now concerned with the pre-Plautine history which Professor Exon assumes for these forms. Their history after Plautus he gives as follows: 'When final *-ei* became *-ī* (about 150 B.C.), *miei* and *mieis* became *miī* and *miīs* respectively, and at once suffered contraction into **mī* and **mīs*. But the analogy of *meus*, etc. restored *e*, and the case forms of *meus* became what they were in classical times.'

As evidence for his early forms, *miei*, *mieis*, etc., Professor Exon cites *abiēgnieis*, *mieis*, *iei*, and *ieis*, from early inscriptions, and the manuscript spelling *mieis* at Plautus, *Men.* 202. All these epigraphical forms, however, stand in inscriptions of later date than 150 B.C.; they come from a time when, according to the sentences just quoted from Professor Exon himself, the nom. pl. of *meus* could be only *mī* or *meī*.² As I have shown (*l.c.*, pp. 7 f.) that the spelling IEI was sometimes used for the sound *ī* during the last century and a half of the republic, and as there is no reason to suppose that it could be used with the value *ēi*, there can be no doubt about its meaning here. The manuscript spelling *mieis* should, of course, be referred to the period to which the analogous epigraphical forms are known to belong. There is, then, no evidence that Plautus knew any such forms as *miei* and *mieis*.

Professor Exon would probably reply that no objective evidence is needed. There is ample proof in Plautine verse that the monosyllabic nom. and dat.-abl. pl. of *meus*, which Professor Exon and I both assume for some period before Plautus, had been largely supplanted by some sort of disyllabic forms. These must have been either *meei* and *meeis* or *miei* and *mieis*.

¹ This part of Professor Exon's article (pp. 341 ff.) is an amplification of an earlier discussion of the *eo*-stems in *Hermathena*, xiii. pp. 149 f.

² On page 340 Professor Exon says it is by no means sure that *ei* after *i* became *ī* at about 150 B.C.

But everywhere else in the two articles he assumes the change, and its reality is proved by the contracted forms *floui*, *controuertis*, *lanuaris*, *Veituris*, and *Vituris* in the inscription *C.I.L.* i. 199 of 117 B.C.

DEVS AND MEVS IN PLAVTVS

But, it may be argued, *meei* and *meis* could no sooner be restored than they would again suffer contraction.

My answer is that there is no reason for assuming that the sound law which at some early date led to the contraction of *meei* was still operative in the time of Plautus. We know that the sounds *ē* and *ē̄* (written *ei*) of Plautus' day actually did, within fifty years after his death, become decidedly different from each other (*ē* and *ē̄* respectively); it is altogether likely that their divergence had already gone far enough to prevent contraction, and thus to make possible the restoration of the form *meei*.

E. H. STURTEVANT.

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URTEVANT.

NOTE ON PLATO, *PHILEBVS* 31 C.

IN 23 C foll. Socrates distinguishes four kinds of existences, τὸ ἄπειρον, the unlimited; τὸ πέρας, the limit; τὸ μικτόν, the result of a combination of the two, and ἡ αἰτία τῆς μίξεως, that which is responsible for combination. He then assigns ἡδονή to the ἄπειρον, on the ground that it admits of τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἧττον, while νοῦς is shown to be akin to the αἰτία (27 E f., 30 E f.). In 31 B Socrates proceeds thus: Δεῖ δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐν ᾧ τέ ἐστιν ἑκάτερον αὐτοῖν καὶ διὰ τί πάθος γίγνησθον, ὁπόταν γίγνησθον, ἰδεῖν ἡμᾶς πρῶτον τὴν ἡδονήν ὥσπερ τὸ γένος αὐτῆς πρότερον ἐβασανίσταμεν, οὕτω καὶ ταῦτα πρότερα.

It is clear from this passage that the inquiry as to the class to which pleasure belongs is now superseded by the question 'Wherein has pleasure its existence, and as a result of what affection is it produced?' Hence Socrates proceeds to ask: 'Ἀρ' οὖν σοὶ καθάπερ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν (is pleasure and pain) πέρι;

In 31 C Socrates states his own view: 'Ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μοι γένηται ἅμα φαίνεσθον λύπη τε καὶ ἡδονή γίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν. Now this passage is generally taken to be a statement that pleasure belongs to the κοινὸν or μικτὸν γένος, and attempts have been made to explain the apparent inconsistency on the ground that whereas pleasure has hitherto been considered as an abstraction, it is now to be considered as a concrete fact, and as such properly belongs to the class of μικτά. In 41 D, however, pleasure is again distinctly referred to the class of ἄπειρα (Οὐκοῦν καὶ τότε εἴρηται καὶ συνωμολογημένον ἡμῖν ἔμπροσθεν κεῖται; . . . Ὡς τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἧττον ἅμφω τούτῳ δέχεσθον, λύπη τε καὶ ἡδονή, καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἀπειρῶν εἶη), and here it is obvious that Socrates is still dealing with concrete facts.

Moreover, in view of the context, the natural translation of the passage under consideration would be: 'Pleasure and pain alike appear to me to be naturally produced in the κοινὸν γένος.' The κοινὸν γένος will then be, not the class to which pleasure and pain belong, but the class which is subject to those πάθη which produce pleasure and pain.

It is next stated (31 D) that pain is produced by a disturbance of ἀρμονία ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις, while pleasure is produced by a restoration of ἀρμονία. Pleasure and pain, then, are produced in ζῶα, and it would seem that the class of ζῶα is the κοινὸν γένος referred to above.

The examples of the μικτὸν γένος hitherto given by Socrates have been of the type ὑγίεια, ἀρμονία, ὧραι, but it has been implied (26 D; 27 A, B)

that all *γινόμενα*, all natural objects, are *μικτά*; and in 32 A occur the following words: *σκόπει εἴ σοι μέτριος ὁ λόγος, ὃς ἂν φῇ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπείρου καὶ πέρατος κατὰ φύσιν ἔμψυχον εἶδος, . . . ὅταν μὲν τοῦτο φθείρηται, τὴν μὲν φθορὰν λύπην εἶναι, τὴν δ' εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν ὀδόν, ταύτη δ' αὖ πάλιν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν πάντων ἡδονήν*. Here it is difficult to see to what, if not to the *ζῶον*, the *ἔμψυχον εἶδος*, clearly a *μικτόν*, refers.

The conclusion, then, is that in 31 C (*ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μοι γένηται κ.τ.λ.*) we have a partial answer to the first part of the question put forward in 31 B; in 31 D this answer is completed by the mention of the particular kind of *κοινὸν γένος*, viz. *ζῶα*, while the second part of the question is partially answered by the description of one class of *πάθη* which produce pleasure and pain. Finally in 32 A we have a re-statement of the answers already given to both parts of the question.

DORA MASON.

412
δύναμις ἀνι
ἀκολο
it express
But ἀκολο
ὑπομνητικ
which occ
The genit

Ib. D
οὐσίας ὡς

Wer
that the
where πρ

Ib. E
The
depending

Imm
Ar. Eth.

413

Ib. B
to be rig
hand, in
to need

ar the follow-
υ ἂν πείρου
ν μὲν τοῦτο
ἰδόν, ταῦτα
see to what.

ίνει κ.τ.λ.) we
ard in 31 B;
cular kind of
is partially
pleasure and
already given

A MASON.

PLATONICA IX.

(Continued from Vol. II, p. 15.)

TA NOΘEYOMENA.

"ΟΡΟΙ.

412 B. ἐγκράτεια δύναμις ὑπομενητικὴ λύπης, ἀκολουθήσις τῷ ὀρθῷ λογισμῷ
ἀκολουθοῦσής
δύναμις ἀνυπερβλήτος τοῦ ὑποληφθέντος ὀρθῷ λογισμῷ.

ἀκολουθήσις, which has most MS. authority, may very well be right, though it expresses an action or course of conduct rather than a condition of mind. But ἀκολουθοῦσα would seem possible. Is not some word lost parallel to ὑπομενητικὴ and governing the genitive τοῦ ὑποληφθέντος, e.g. ἀποτελεσματική, which occurs a few lines below (φιλοπονία ἔξις ἀποτελεσματικὴ οὐδ' ἂν προέλθαι)? The genitive has at present no construction.

Iδ. D. ἐλευθεριότης ἔξις πρὸς τὸ χρηματίζεσθαι ὡς δεῖ πρόσθεσις καὶ κτήσις οὐσίας ὡς δεῖ.

Were πρόσθεσις right, only one part of liberality would be given, and that the less obvious part. Read πρόεσις, comparing Ar. Eth. 2.7.1107 b 12, 13, where πρόεσις and λήψις are contrasted in this matter.

Iδ. E. μεγαλοπρέπεια ἀξίωσις κατὰ λογισμὸν ὀρθὸν τὸν σεμνότατον.

The latter words can hardly mean anything. Read τοῦ σεμνοτάτου, depending on ἀξίωσις.

Immediately below (under ἀγχίνοια) prefix ἐν ἐκάστω. Cf. for instance Ar. Eth. 2.9.1109 a 24, where στοχαστική occurs just before.

413 A. ἀγαθὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν <αἰρετόν>?

Iδ. B. αἴρεσις δοκιμασία ὀρθή <ἢ μή>? <ἢ ψευδής>? A αἴρεσις is not bound to be right, and the word came, as we know, to imply error. On the other hand, in C (ἀλήθεια ἔξις ἐν καταφάσει καὶ ἀποφάσει ἐπιστήμη ἀληθῶν) we seem to need the addition of ὀρθή to ἔξις.

Ibid. ὁμόνοια κοινωνία τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων συμφωνία νοημάτων καὶ ὑπολημμάτων.

τῶν ὄντων, which would mean *property*, is palpably wrong. τῶν ἐν ᾧ ὄντων would make sense; or τῶν ὄντων may be a mistake for τῶν νοημάτων.

414 C. αἰσθησις ψυχῆς φορά' νοῦ κίνησις' ψυχῆς διὰ σώματος εἰσαγγελσις εἰς ὥρας ἀνθρώπων, ἀφ' ἧς γίγνεται ψυχῆς ἄλογος δύναμις γνωριστικὴ διὰ σώματος.

εἰς ὥρας is not very intelligible, and there is good evidence against εἰς. Perhaps we should read εἰσαγγελσις φοράς and perhaps too ἀνθρώπων.

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

372 A. τὸ δίκαιον would hardly be defined as τὰ νομιζόμενα δίκαια. Should not the last word be omitted?

373 A. Greater and less are distinguished by measure (μέτρον) and μετὰ τοῦ μέτρου by the measuring art: light and heavy by weight (σταθμός) and μετὰ τοῦ σταθμοῦ by the weighing art: τί δὲ δῆ; τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἄδικα τίνε σκοποῦντες διαγιγνώσκωμεν ὀργάνῳ; καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ὀργάνου τίνε τέχνῃ πρόσθεν;

I hardly know what the editors suppose πρόσθεν to mean, but it is tolerably clear that the real word was πρόσθε, *add, tell me also*.

374 B. οὗτος αἰοῖός is not possible, though αἰοῖός at the end of the dialogue is. We should add ὁ (perhaps in both places) or write αἰοῖός. At the end of the περὶ ἀρετῆς read <τοῖς> κτωμένοις, the loss of τοῖς being possibly due to the -ται of the verb.

DEMODOCVS.

382 C. τῶν ἀνθρώπων δέ τινα (not τίνα) will suit τοῦτο ξυγχαρεῖν best.

Ib. D. ὑπάρχει should be ὑπάρξει, as μεταμελήσει shows. So in 383 E the repeated ἐμφανίζουσι proves that we need λέξουσι. It is remarkable how blind editors always are to this most common error of MSS., the putting of presents for futures.

384 D E. Three times προσήκει might with advantage, I think, be turned into προσῆκεν; but none of the three cases absolutely requires it.

386 B. εἰάν οὖν τοῖς μὲν οἰκείοι ὄσι, τοῖς δ' ἄγνωτες, πῶς οὐ δεήσει τοῖς αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον αὐτῶν (so Schneider for αὐτῶ) πιστοὺς νομίζειν; οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως πιστοὺς αὐτοὺς δεῖ νομίζειν τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς ἄγνωτας.

I can make no sense of the central clause in this, πῶς οὐ δεήσει κ.τ.λ. Words such as πῶς οὐ δεήσει τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἥττον τοὺς δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν πιστοὺς νομίζειν; would be intelligible, though I am not sure about τοὺς αὐτοὺς

and αὐτῶν
πιστοὺς νομ

387 C

Perha
sagacious

Ib. D.

ὥσπερ καὶ

καὶ κ

<χράμενον>

388 B

common c

Ib. D.

εὐθέως.

Here

must be i

So a

βουλεύεσθαι

εἷ shows

indeed we

ἐστὶν ἀνθρ

βουλεύοιτο

with ἀριστ

εὐτορίαν, i

388 E

390 E

Ibid.

ἀποδεύειχθ

Surel

point in t

καὶ require

Ib. C.

καὶ εἰκασία

ἐπιστ

ἐπερ τὸ μ

NO. IX.

and αὐτῶν; or such as πῶς οὐ δεήσει αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν μῖλλον τοὺς δὲ ἦττον πιστοὺς νομίζειν;

SISYPHUS.

387 C. ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ δεδοῖσσαι εὐβουλος εἶναι εἰς τῶν Φαρσαλίων.

Perhaps τις for εἰς. It is not meant that he is the only or the most sagacious citizen.

Ib. D. σχεδιάζοντα λέγειν ὅτι ἂν τύχῃ, εἰκάζοντα καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτῶ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀρτιάζοντες κ.τ.λ.

καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτῶ seems to need some addition to give it a sense. (χρώμενον) αὐτῶ?

388 B. The ἂν in ὥσπερ γὰρ ἂν is out of place. Read γὰρ δὴ, a common combination.

Ib. D. οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐξίγτει, ὅπου ἦν ἐξευρεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ ἥδει, ἀλλ' ἐξηῆρεν ἂν εὐθὺς.

Here on the other hand we need ἂν with ἐξίγτει, as with ἐξηῆρεν, and it must be inserted.

So again in 389 C ἀρὰ γε νομίζεις οἷν τέ τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπῳ περὶ μουσικῆς βουλευέσθαι . . . ὅπως ἢ καθαριστέον εἴη αὐτῷ ἢ ἄλλο τι . . . ποιητέον, the optative εἴη shows that ἂν must have stood somewhere in the first clause (unless indeed we add it to εἴη itself); and in *Eryxias* 393 E ἔχοιτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν μοι τί ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ πλείστου ἀξίον κτῆμα; ἀρὰ γε τοῦτο ὃ κτησάμενος ἄνθρωπος ἀρίστα βουλευοίτο περὶ τούτου, ὅπως ἂν βέλτιστα διαπράττοιτο κ.τ.λ. it is required with ἀρίστα (probably ἀρίστ ἂν) βουλευοίτο. Perhaps it should also follow ἐμπορίαν, Ib. 392 D, but there it is not indispensable.

388 E. σκοπεῖ δὴ, not δέ.

390 B. ἐδοκέτε . . . καθῆσθαι should be δοκέτε, it seems to me you sat.

Ibid. ταῦτα ἐμοὶ τε εἶναι πεπαιγμένα πρὸς σέ . . . σοὶ τε οὐκ ἐσπουδασμένως ἀποδεδεῖχθαι.

Surely ἀποδεδεῖχθαι, the rare passive use. Otherwise there is no new point in the clause, such as the antithesis of the two persons with τε and καὶ requires.

Ib. C. οὐδὲν ἐξευρίσκειται ἄλλο ὄν (τὸ βουλευέσθαι) ἢ ὅπερ ἐπιστήμη τε καὶ εἰκασία καὶ σχεδιασμός.

ἐπιστήμη gives exactly the wrong sense as 387 E tells us *totidem verbis*, ὅπερ τὸ μὴ ἐπιστάμενόν τινα . . . διαμαντενόμενον καὶ σχεδιάζοντα κ.τ.λ. (quoted NO. IX. VOL. III. B

above) and 388 A μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενον. As εἰκασία and σχεδιασμός are repeated from 387 E, so possibly ἐπιστήμη stands for μαντεία answering to διαμαινεύομενον, if the corruption is not more considerable.

Ib. D. Omit τε between αὐτοί and αὐτῶν. The repetition of ὥσπερ shows that οἱ τε ἄλλοι δημιουργοὶ ἅπαντες is the subject of διαφέρουσιν, and that there should be no comma after ἅπαντες.

ERYXIAS.

393 A. καὶ δοκεῖ καὶ ἔστι πλέον πάντων πονηρότατος ἢ ὅσῳ πλουσιώτατος, οὕτως ὥστ' εἰ κ.τ.λ.

πλέον should certainly be πλεονί (corresponding to ὅσῳ), and οὕτως, I think, τοσοῦτῳ, τος- having been absorbed in the ending of πλουσιώτα-τος.

394 E. ἡ τούτου μὲν καταφρονεῖν <οἶεῖ> τοὺς ἀνθρώπους?

397 E. Omit ἀγαθόν after τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

401 B. οὐκ or ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι χρώμεθα seems needed.

402 A (init.). εἰ τι δεόμεθα, not δεοίμεθα, and D ἐκπορίζομεθα.

402 C. As the text stands, Eryxias is made to say 'I am quite persuaded that what is useless cannot be money (οὐδὲ χρήματά ἐστιν) and that *useful money is one of the most useful things for this purpose* (καὶ ὅτι τῶν χρησιμωτάτων ἐστὶ πρὸς τοῦτο χρήματα τὰ χρήσιμα): but not that money is useless for practical purposes (τὸν βίον), as by its means we provide ourselves with things we want (τὰ ἐπιτήδεια).' The words in italics seem mere nonsense. What is *useful money*? what is *this purpose*? If too the sentence meant anything, it would simply anticipate 'but not that money is useless,' to which it is formally opposed. I can only infer that we must omit it, and am unable to suggest how it got in. It has no appearance of being a corruption of something else, nor can it be put later in the sentence without considerable changes.

403 E. The imperfect κατεχρῶντο is as inappropriate as ἐδοκίε in *Sisyphus* 390 B above. What we want is the optative καταχρῶντο like ἐργάζοντο two lines below.

αὐτῶν cannot be right either, as there is nothing for it to refer to. Perhaps αὐτοῖς, as we have just below αὐτοῖς οἷς (an inversion of order for οἷς αὐτοῖς) καταχρώμεθα, and 402 B οἷς μὴ αὐτοῖς χρώμεθα.

404 A. πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐργασίαν is neither grammar nor sense. Read

τὴν αὐτήν, as in B and several other places. τὴν τούτων would not, I think, make sense. There is nothing τούτων could refer to.

Ib. E. ἐπιστήμην ἢ δύναιτο ἀκούειν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ οἶον τε. οἶον τ' <εἶναι>?

Ibid. φαίνοιτο γὰρ ἂν ἐνίοτε μοχθηρὰ πράγματα πρὸς ἀγαθόν τι χρησίμων εἶναι· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου ἂν φανερὰ γένοιτο.

Apparently the two adjectives have exchanged terminations. We want χρήσιμα and φανερόν.

405 B. After a remark made by Socrates we find instead of an answer or comment from Eryxias the strange words ἔφη γὰρ οὕτως, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ (quite unmeaning in the context), and then Socrates continues his argument. Does this not stand for the assenting οὕτω γάρ, ἐφῆ, καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ? ὥς and καί are liable to interchange. I doubt whether οὕτω γάρ, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ would be idiomatic. ὅσων ἄνευ μὴ οἶόν τε γίγνεσθαι needs a τι after τε, as in 402 B. τοῦτο refers to it.

AXIOCHUS.

366 D. φράσαιμι ἂν σοι ταῦτα ἃ μνημονεύσω.

Probably ἂν for ἃ.

H. RICHARDS.

ENNIVS *ANNALES* 567 (VAHLEN).

THE line is preserved in a passage of Consentius 'De Barbarismis et Metaplasmis' (Keil's *Gramm. Lat.* v. p. 400, 9): sicut Lucilius 'ore corrupto'; dempsit enim unam litteram per metaplasum, r; et Ennius 'huic statuam,' etc.

I cannot emend the line, but I can give a fuller apparatus criticus for it than Vahlen's, having lately had an opportunity of looking at the two MSS. in which this treatise of Consentius is extant. The one (the only one known to Vahlen) is at Munich (lat. 1466), a ninth century MS., shewing Insular (Irish or English) influence (with h 'haec,' hāt 'habent,' h̄s 'huius,' etc.). The other (cf. Winstedt in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* xxvi. 22) is a Fulda MS. in Irish script of the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, now in the University Library at Basle (F III. 15^b).

The Munich codex (M) writes the line like this:

huic statuam statui maiorum obatu athenis.

A corrector, who uses dark purple ink, has written above the *o* of *obatu* something which Vahlen prints &. But this 'et'-ligature, still used by us in the contraction 'etc.', is not what the corrector has written. His letters probably are meant for 'et,' since the conjunction has a very similar form on other pages of the MS. (e.g. 35 v, 38 r). Still it is just conceivable that they are meant for 'eius,' in which case the word would be a mere explanatory gloss of *maiorum*, and would not be intended as a word of the verse of Ennius. The part played by this corrector is so slight that it is impossible to say whether he used a MS. (the original or a new MS.) for his corrections.

The Basle codex (B) writes the line thus:

huic statuam statui maiorum orbatur athenis.

A corrector, who certainly used the original of B for his corrections, has added in the margin the word *morbo*. This word (unlike his corrections elsewhere) he has enclosed in a ring of dots; and since he has put three dots above *orbatur* in the text it is clear that he means *morbo* to stand in some relation to *orbatur*. The important question for us is whether *morbo* was a variant in the original. It may be a mere fancy of mine, but the impression which this marginal adscript leaves on me is that of a mere capricious conjectural emendation. The corrector, I believe, saw that *orbatur* yielded no sense, and capriciously substituted for it *morbo*; although I must confess that *morbo* does

not seem
future att
not be ig
For
obatu (M
obatu of
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came to
orbatur a
One
the line,
litteram
not by t
wrote wa
-ātū a- i

not seem much more intelligible than *orbatur*, and I readily allow that in future attempts to emend the line the possibility that *morbo* gives a clue must not be ignored.

For the present however let us confine our attention to the two variants *obatu* (M) and *orbatur* (B). Which is original? To my mind, *orbatur*. The *obatu* of M seems to me a scribe's attempt to adapt the word to Consentius' account of the 'demptio litterae r.' This is a natural explanation of how *obatu* came to be substituted for *orbatur*, but it would not be so easy to explain *orbatur* as a corruption of *obatu*.

One other item has to be added to our 'apparatus criticus.' After quoting the line, Consentius proceeds: 'et hic quoque per metaplasmum dempsit litteram r.' In B there is over *r* a suprascript *s*, by the scribe himself, I think, not by the corrector. But, I take it, no one can doubt that what Consentius wrote was 'litteram r.' Another thing is equally certain; that a scansion like *-âtû a-* is impossible in Ennius' hexameters.

W. M. LINDSAY.

NOTES ON THE *ACHARNIANS* OF ARISTOPHANES.

34 χὼ πρίων ἀπῆν.

The allusion is obviously to the street-cries of Athens. Diphilus *ap. Athen.* ii. 55 κατὰ τὴν οὐδὲν πωλεῖν περιπατῶν βοῦλόμην | ῥόδα ραφανίδας κ.τ.λ. Dicaeopolis longs for his country-deme ὅς οὐδεπώποτ' εἶπεν ἄνθρακας πρῶν. A parallel to πρῶν 'one who shouts πρῶν' is Hesychius βηβῖν' πρῶβαντον; cf. Cratinus *Fr.* 43 ο δ' ἡλιθῖος ὥσπερ πρῶβαντον βῆ βῆ λέγων βασιδεῖ.

96 ἡ περὶ ἄκραν κάμπτων νεώσοικον σκοπεῖς;

Wilamowitz (*Hermes* xiv. 184) would delete this line. So Rutherford, *Schol. Aristoph.* ii. 274. 'The second part of this line as tinkered into shape by redactors is nothing but an adscript to ναύφαρκτον βλέπεις; showing that some commentator translated it as "Do you inspect an arsenal?"' On this hypothesis it is difficult to account for the pointed περί ἄκραν κάμπτων which the Schol. rightly takes as referring to slow and self-important gait—ἄξιωματικῶς ἰοντος. Presumably Pseudartabas enters at line 61, and veers slowly round in front of the Prytanes at 94-7. For σκοπεῖν='to look out for,' cf. *Lys.* 426 σὺδὲν ποῶν ἀλλ' ἢ κατηλείον σκοπῶν. The metaphor in 96-7 is suggested by the ναὺς in ναύφαρκτον. Hdt. ix. 8 τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰτέιχον καὶ σφί ἦν πρὸς τέλει (sc. τὰ τέλειχον from εἰτέιχον). .

272-3 Should these lines not be transposed? ἐκ τοῦ Φέλλεως according to Van Leeuwen is to be taken with Ὠρήτταν. But (1) we should expect a repeated article before the preposition. In Eup. *Fr.* 235 ἔστι δέ τις Θήλεια Φιλόξενος ἐκ Διομείων the ἐκ Διομείων is influenced by the ἔστι; (2) φελλέων seems to have denoted any rough or stony ground—Harpocr. 181. 9 τὰ πετρώδη καὶ αἰγίβοτα χωρία Φελλέας ἐκάλουν. Thus the ἐκ cannot denote origin as in Eupolis. It does not seem to have been noticed that Suidas favours transposition.—τοῦ Στρυμονοῦρου Ὠρήτταν ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως κλέπτουσαν. This also gives better sense, ὑληφόρον repeating and explaining κλέπτουσαν.

294 ἀντὶ δ' ὧν ἐσπείσάμην οὐκ ἴσατ'· ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε.

ἵστα^τ R, ἵστε A, ἵστε τ^τ Γ. No emendation yet proposed is quite satisfactory. Dobree's οὐκ ἵστε μ^ι is impossible. The anticipatory accus. does not stand after the clause which it is meant to anticipate. Elmsley's οὐκ ἵστ^τ ἐτ^τ gives the wrong sense; we want οὐκ ἵστε πω. Van Leeuwen adopts Hamaker's ingenious

ἀκούσατ'·
the MSS.
ἀντὶ ποίας
at the ly
which nev
after all.
to the CH

338-

So Herwerde
Kock (*V*)
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scene, and
with whic
in slightly
Eur. *I.T.*
repetition

412

For
1901, p.
funny. T
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divinity a
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ἀταρ τί τ
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Thesm. 1
καλ' ἦν τ

717-

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is used c
οἶνον ἐξέ

ἀκούσατ'· ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε: but it is hard to see how this could have generated the MSS. readings. I venture to suggest οὐκ ᾔσατ': this is no answer to the ἀντί ποίας αἰτίας of 286. Dicaeopolis sticks to the jog-trot trochaics; the hit at the lyric violence of the Acharnians is quite in the manner of Comedy, which never tries to disguise the fact that its characters are merely players after all. See inter alia the references to the Eccyclema 408, to the Spectators 496, to the Choregus 1150, to the Anapaests 627.

338-339 ἀλλὰ νυνὶ λέγ' εἴ σοι δοκεῖ τὸν τε Λακε-
δαμόνιον αὐτὸν ὅτι τῷ τρόπῳ σουστὶ φίλος.

So R, φίλον vulg. The weak point of the MSS. reading is the αὐτόν. Herwerden (*Vindiciae Aristoph.* p. 6) suggests ἀντίπαλον, which is mere verbiage; Kock (*Verisimilia*) αἰνεσον ὅτῳ, but the simple αἰνεῖν is alien to Comedy. May we not read αὐτόθεν ὅτῳ. The first λέγε is 'Speak,' the key-word of the previous scene, and marks the concession. The λέγε to be supplied after the τε is 'say,' with which τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον is anticipatory accus. The repetition of the verb in slightly different sense is too common to need illustration; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 40, Eur. *I.T.* 279-80. αὐτόθεν ὅτῳ is near the ductus, and facilitates the mental repetition of λέγε. For λέγειν αὐτόθεν, cf. Plato *Symp.* 213 A, *Gorg.* 470 B.

412 ἄταρ τί τὰ ράκι' ἐκ τραγῳδίας ἔχεις.

For the logical weakness of this line see Bachmann *Conj.* 7, Richards *C.R.* 1901, p. 355. Comedy is often illogical, but generally when the illogicality is funny. There is a good instance in *Ran.* 657 τὴν ἄκαθαν ἔξελε, where Xanthias excuses his οἰμοί, as if the prick of a thorn were not as conclusive a test of divinity as the stroke of the lash. τί τὰ ράκι' εἰς κ.τ.λ. and τί τὰ ράκι'; ἢ 'κ κ.τ.λ. have been suggested. The true reading may be

ἄταρ τί τὰ ράκι'; εἰς τραγῳδίαν ἔχεις
ἐσθῆτ' ἐλαινὴν;

ἄταρ τί τὰ ράκι'; is a natural cry of surprise, and is supported by the parallel scene in *Thesm.* 186 τίς ἡ στολή; For the poetic principle involved cf. *Thesm.* 165-6 αὐτὸς τε καλὸς ἦν καὶ καλῶς ἡμπίαχετο' | διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ καλὸν ἦν τὰ δράματα.

717-8 The meaning of this locus conclamatus can hardly be 'And for all time to come we must banish or, if he have already gone into exile, must fine—'. An accused person frequently left Attica to escape sentence of death; he would hardly leave Attica to escape sentence of exile. Besides this fiscal process has nothing to do with sentences of expulsion. The old man of the epirrhema leaves the court complaining that he has lost the wherewithal to buy his coffin; the same sort of misfortune must be the burden of the ant-epirrhema. ἐξελαίνειν is used of the homoeopathic treatment in Antiphanes *Fr.* 300 οἶνον (ὃς δέ) τὸν οἶνον ἐξελαίνει, | σάλπιγγι τὴν σάλπιγγα, τῷ κήρυκι τὸν βοῶντα, . . . αὐθαδῖαν

αὐθαδία, Καλλίστρατον μαγείρῳ, | στάσει στάσιν, μάχη μάχην, ὑπωπίος δὲ πύκτην, | πόνον πόνον, δίκη δίκην, γυναῖκί τὴν γυναῖκα, and it is homoeopathic treatment that Aristophanes is advocating here. It can hardly be a coincidence that the repetition of cognates and the use of ἐξελαίνειν where its ordinary sense is inadmissible, occur here together. *κἂν φύγη τις ξημοῦν* is obviously parenthetical. I suggest *κἂν τύχητε*, i.e. *κἂν τύχητε (ξημοῦντες) ξημοῦν*. 'And for all time to come you must work off, dispose of, and fine, if you do fine, the old man by means of the old man and the young man by means of the young.'

772 αἱ λῆς, περίδου μοι περὶ θυμητιδῶν ἄλῶν.

The MSS. here *θυμητιδῶν*, R *θυμητιδῶν*, Suid. *θυμητιδῶν*, Berlin Papyri *θυμητῶν*. The ordinary form is ἄλες *θυμίται*. Editors follow Ahrens in taking *θυμητιδῶν* as Gen. Plur. of *θυμίτης* assuming by pure conjecture that ἄλες may have been feminine in Doric. I venture to suggest that *θυμητιδῶν* and *θυμητιδῶν* are both corruptions of an original *Θυματιδῶν*. The Megarian must bet with Attic salt, for he has none of his own, cf. 814; how he is going to pay if he loses, is another matter. Aristophanes puns on *θυμίτης* and *Θυματιδῶν* the name of an Athenian deme. *Etym. Magnum* p. 288. ἐκωμφοῦντο γὰρ οἱ Ἀχαρνεῖς ὡς ἄγριοι καὶ σκληροί, Ποτάμιοι δὲ ὡς ῥαδίως δεχόμενοι τοὺς παρεγγράφους, *Θυματιδαὶ δὲ καὶ Προσπάλτιοι ὡς δικαστικοί*. *Θυματιδῶν ἄλῶν* is the sort of stake that a sceptic like Dicaeopolis might be expected to deposit; cf. Plut. 730 ὅξει διέμενος Σφήττιρ. Schol. ad loc. *πικροὶ γὰρ οἱ Σφήττιοι καὶ συκοφανταί*.

1096 ξύγκληε καὶ δειπνὸν τις ἐνσκευάζετω.

ξύγκληε if right can only mean 'Lock up' (sc. *τὴν θύραν*). Is this not a little previous? The viands are outside, no doubt; but the dinner-basket is still within. See line 1098.

I suggest *σύγκλαέ νυν* 'You can go to the deuce with her.' You are a pair of *κακοδαίμονες*. 1131 κλέειν κελείων Λάμαχον τὸν Γοργάσιον. The asyndeton in the following clause is justified by the brusquerie of Dicaeopolis. *ἐνσκευάζετω* is, I think, quite genuine. It is regularly used 'de vestitu et cultu,' but there does not seem to be any reason why it should not here be used of 'arranging in' the *κίσπη*. There is at least one other instance, Diphilus *Fr.* 89 ὥσπερ *καοὺν μοι πάντ' ἐνσκευασμένον*. εἰ *σκευάζετω* (Haeberlin, Herwerden) is open to at least as grave an objection. It would certainly suggest cooking the dinner, and Dicaeopolis has himself been chef.

1082 βούλει μάχεσθαι Γηρυόνη τετραπύλῳ;

The traditional view of this passage seems to be the correct one. Dicaeopolis picks up four of the feathers from the birds he has plucked, and throws himself into a fighting attitude. There is no lack of point if we assume with Willems that Geryon was the patron-saint of Attic Cooks as Keraon and Matton were

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October 8,

the patrons of their professional brethren at Sparta (*Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 1903, p. 26). Dicaeopolis is now occupied with his cuisine.

Van Leeuwen's conjecture, Γηρυόνη τετράπτιλε; has met with considerable favour. Its simplicity is certainly attractive, but stubborn facts are against it. (1) Lamachus is not wearing his helmet at all (cf. 1103, 1107), so that he is not τετράπτιλος at present. (2) There is not the slightest ground for assuming that Lamachus' helmet ever had four plumes. Lamachus himself is only cognizant of two; cf. 1103 ἐνεγκε δὲ ὄντρο τὸ πτέρω τὸ 'κ τοῦ κράνους. The taxiarch's insignia included a triple crest, *Pax* 1173-4; but the combination of crest and plumes is purely tragic. It is significant that the helmet of Herakles on the Assteas-vase at Madrid has three crests and two plumes like that of Lamachus. This gives us a pretty combination in 572 ff. The βομολόχος is pitted against the miles gloriosus; Dicaeopolis with the pointed carnival-cap τὸ πιδίδιον (cf. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 156 ff), Lamachus with the hero's helm.

W. RENNIE.

October 8, 1908.

COULD ANCIENT SHIPS WORK TO WINDWARD?

WHEN Caesar sailed to Britain in 55 B.C. he was obliged to leave behind eighteen transports which had his cavalry on board and had been prevented by adverse winds from joining the rest of the fleet. These vessels, like those which carried the infantry, were of native Gallic build, and were doubtless sailed by Gallic seamen, who were familiar with the conditions of navigation in the Channel. On the fourth day after Caesar landed in Britain they set sail with a light breeze. All went well until they were approaching the British coast and were descried from the Roman camp when, as Caesar says,

'such a violent storm suddenly arose that none of them could keep their course, but some were carried back to the point from which they had started, while the others were swept down in great peril to the lower and more westerly part of the island. They anchored notwithstanding, but as they were becoming waterlogged, were forced to stand out to sea in the face of night, and make for the continent.'¹

'The brief sentences'—so I wrote in my recent book on *Ancient Britain*—'tell a tale which cannot be mistaken. The ships which were swept down past the Foreland and the Dover cliffs scudded before the north-easterly gale; and, although they were of course in no danger of being driven ashore, they were in great peril, because only the most watchful steering could prevent them from broaching to: if a heavy sea struck the stern, it might swing the vessel round, and in a moment she would be overset and founder. The ships which were carried back to the point from which they had started were of course handled differently. A sailing-vessel, caught by a gale, must either run before the wind or lie to.'² With these vessels the latter course was adopted. Carrying only just enough sail to keep them steady, they were laid to on the port tack; and once they had drifted past Cape Grisnez into comparatively sheltered water, they were able to stand in for the shore and make the port of Ambleteuse.'³

When I wrote these words I believed, as I do still, that ancient ships could work to windward: but the truth of this view has not yet been established; and I therefore propose to examine the evidence.

¹ Tanta tempestas subito coorta est ut nulla eorum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem unde erant profectae referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, deicerentur; quae tamen ancoris iactis cum fluctibus complerentur,

necessario aduersa nocte in altum prouectae continentem petierunt.—*B.G.* iv. 28, §§ 2-3.

On the meaning of *aduersa nocte* see my *Ancient Britain*, p. 598, n. 2.

² See p. 32, *infra*.

³ *Ancient Britain*, p. 319

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¹ *Ancient*

² *ib.* pp.

³ *ib.* pp.

⁴ *B.G.* iii.

I have proved in *Ancient Britain* that Caesar's cavalry transports sailed from Ambletuse,¹ and that the camp from which they were despatched just before the storm was at or near Walmer;² but if any one who has read the book does not accept the proof, he may adopt any other theory which pleases him without disturbing the ensuing argument. Indeed every other theory implies not only that the transports could work to windward, but that they could sail closer to the wind than a modern schooner.³

Caesar's transports doubtless resembled those of the Veneti, whose build and construction he has described in a well-known chapter⁴ without telling us any thing about their masts and yards or the cut of their sails. They were more flat-bottomed than Italian ships and had considerable sheer: but their most important characteristic was great strength; and it is worthy of remark that their anchors had chain cables of iron.

James Smith of Jordanhill, the author of *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, of which Whewell said that 'no finer piece of demonstrative writing had appeared since the time of Paley,'⁵ argued that ancient ships could 'make good a course of about seven points from the wind.'⁶ His opinion was based partly upon a study of the voyage of St. Paul from Sidon to Malta, partly upon a passage in which Cicero, describing his voyage from Cilicia to Athens, says 'we had encountered contrary winds and sailed slowly and with difficulty' (*cum sane aduersis uentis usi essemus tardeque et incommode nauigassemus*).⁷ In his dissertation on the ships of the ancients Smith remarks that 'we have no information as to the exact angle with the wind at which an ancient ship could sail. It must, however,' he continues, 'have been less than eight points, but more than six, the usual allowance for a modern [square-rigged] merchant-ship in moderate weather. I have, therefore, in my calculations taken seven as the mean between these extremes.'⁸ Smith gives no reasons for assuming that an ancient Mediterranean ship could not sail as close to the wind as a modern merchant-ship, the rig of which is very different; but probably it could not make good a course as near the wind. Captain Iron, the harbour-master of Dover, writes to me, 'I should say they would lay as close to the wind as a square-rigged sailing-vessel of the present day—between 6 and 7 points—but would make much more leeway. The illustrations of ancient ships that I have seen give one the idea that the crafts were not shaped to have much grip of the water.'

It is well known that the Mediterranean merchant-ships of the time of St. Paul depended for propulsion principally upon one large square sail. The mainmast was nearly amidships,—slightly before the centre. Above the main-sail a triangular topsail was hoisted in suitable weather: a small square sail

¹ *Ancient Britain*, pp. 581-3, 593, 613, 639.

² *Ib.* pp. 595-665.

³ *Ib.* pp. 581-3, 613, 624-5, 639, 643, 740-1.

⁴ *B.G.* iii. 13.

⁵ *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 4th ed., 1880, p. viii.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 75.

⁷ *Fam.* xiv. 5, § 1.

⁸ *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 215.

was set on a low sloping foremast, not unlike a bowsprit; and some ships had a mizen-mast, which carried a square sail, as well.¹

M. Jules Vars, in his interesting handbook, *L'art nautique dans l'antiquité*,² which is based upon A. Breusing's *Die Nautik der Alten*,³ affirms that 'no text definitely proves that the ancients knew how to sail close-hauled and to tack' ('aucun passage ne prouve formellement, chez les anciens, qu'ils aient connu l'allure du plus près et le louvoyage'). The passage which I have quoted from Cicero, and which M. Vars does not mention, would be conclusive if we could be sure that he used the words *contrariis ventis* strictly; but it might perhaps be argued that he only meant unfavourable winds. It is certain and universally admitted that ancient ships could sail with the wind abeam; but such a wind may have been called unfavourable. Still, it must be remembered that a ship sailing with the wind abeam would, even in moderate weather, make some lee-way; and therefore, in order to keep her course, she would occasionally have to lie within less than eight points of the wind.

James Smith quotes a passage from Pliny's *Natural History*,⁴—'iisdem autem ventis in contrarium navigatur prolati pedibus.' The last two words mean 'carrying the corners of the sails⁵ forward,' so as to bring the sails towards a line with the axis of the ship; in other words, *navigatur prolati pedibus* might be accurately translated by 'it is common to sail close-hauled.' But the exact sense of the passage depends upon the meaning of *in contrarium*. Smith⁶ infers from these words that ancient ships 'could sail on opposite tacks': M. Vars, on the other hand, thinks that we are only justified in concluding that they could sail at right angles to the direction of the same wind either to the left or to the right; that is, that if, for example, the wind blew from the west, it was possible to sail either due north or due south. It seems to me that Pliny's observation might bear either meaning: anyhow I agree with M. Vars that it does not prove that ancient ships could tack. But, for the reason which I have already given, it does prove that they could lie (though not necessarily that they could make good a course) within less than eight points of the wind.

M. Vars then examines the well-known passage in which Lucian⁷ uses the words *πρὸς ἀντίους τοὺς Ἐτησίαν πλεγαίζοντας* ('beating up [?] against the contrary Etesian winds'). *Ἀντίους* is equivalent to Cicero's *aduersis*; and the circumstances of Cicero's voyage were doubtless analogous to those of the final

¹ *Jb.* pp. 190-206; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 1 (1), § 5; C. Torr's *Ancient Ships*, 1894, pp. 89, 91, and his article—NAVIS—in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des ant. grecques et rom.*, 36^e fasc., 1904, p. 38. Cf. *Fahrbuch des Kaiserlich-Deutschen archäol. Instituts*, vii. 1892 (1893), pp. 50-1.

² Page 185 (A. Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten*, p. 152).

³ M. Vars's book is described on the title-page as 'd'après A. BREUSING (*Die Nautik der Alten*). In

every passage to which I have referred I have compared the French with the German, and find that it is virtually a translation. I quote, however, from M. Vars's book (giving the references to Breusing in brackets) because many people who can read French easily do not know German.

⁴ *ii.* 47 (48), § 128.

⁵ C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 96, n. 206.

⁶ p. 125, note.

⁷ *Naz.* 9.

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¹ *L'art navi ing*, p. 154). the Traveller asserts that ' to keep so m from Egypt te that this (St direct to My

stage of that which Lucian describes. A corn-ship bound for Italy sailed in seven days from Alexandria to Acamas, a cape on the north-west coast of Cyprus. The wind then veered to the north-west; and the ship was obliged to run before it to Sidon. Thence she sailed in a heavy gale between Cyprus and Asia Minor, and on the tenth day after her departure from Sidon reached the Chelidonian Isles. After sailing past Lycia she entered the Aegean Sea, and, beating up (?) against the Etesian winds, anchored in the Piraeus on the seventieth day of the voyage.

M. Vars begins by remarking that the mere fact that a ship bound from Alexandria to Italy was obliged to sail not in the direction of Crete but in that of Acamas proves that she could not sail within less than eight points of the wind.¹ The conclusion is hasty. Even now sailing-vessels do not commonly begin voyages by beating up against unfavourable winds. Assuming, with James Smith, that the Alexandrian ship could just make good a course within seven points, she could only have sailed direct to Crete by making a long series of tacks; and her captain might hope that, after passing Acamas, he would get a wind which would be favourable for a westward voyage along the coast of Asia Minor, and would actually gain time. But this is not all. Ships which could only make good a course within seven points in moderate weather, and which made excessive lee-way, would gain little or nothing by tacking with strong winds: moreover, having no compasses, they would be in danger, when out of sight of land, of losing their reckoning. Assuming that ancient ships could work to windward, there was therefore a sufficient reason for their tacking as seldom as possible.

What were the Etesian winds with which the Alexandrian ship had to contend on her voyage through the Aegean? M. Vars remarks truly enough that the term denotes winds which blew steadily during a certain part of the year, but the direction of which was different in different regions. Pliny,² he says, states that in Spain and Asia they blew from the east, in the Black Sea from the north, elsewhere from the south; while Captain John Stewart observes that in the Archipelago 'the most prevailing winds are the N.E., or Etesian winds, which blow fresh and almost constantly for several months in the autumn,' and that 'N.W. winds now and then come in violent squalls, but they are neither so common nor so lasting as the north and N.E. winds.'³ According to the latest edition of the *Mediterranean Pilot*,⁴ 'the prevailing winds in the Archipelago are from the northward between N.W. and N.E. Northerly winds commence early in June and blow almost constantly until September.' M. Vars admits that

¹ *L'art nautique dans l'antiquité*, p. 186 (Breusing, p. 154). Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay (*St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 319) asserts that 'no ancient ship would have ventured to keep so much out to sea as to run intentionally from Egypt to Crete . . . but [he adds] it is probable that this [St. Paul's] Alexandrian ship had sailed direct to Myra across the Levant.' The voyage to

Myra was longer than to Crete, and, moreover, Caesar sailed direct from Asia or Rhodes to Alexandria (*B.C.* iii. 106, § 1; Col. Stoffel, *Hist. de Jules César, — Guerre civile*, ii. 40-1, 255-6).

² *Nat. Hist.* ii. 47 (48), § 127.

³ Laurie's *Mediterranean Directory*, ed. A. G. Findlay, 1856, p. 267.

⁴ Vol. iii. 1899, pp. 469-70.

Lucian, like Aristotle,¹ may have meant by 'the Etesian winds' winds which blew from the north or north-west. But, he insists, this concession does not affect the question: 'it is quite inadmissible that the Alexandrian captain should have been obliged to tack for two months, sailing close-hauled against a north-east, and occasionally a north-west, wind, in order to fetch Athens from the Chelidonian promontory.'² Why is it 'inadmissible,' and why does M. Vars exaggerate into two months a space of time which, according to Lucian, was fifty-three days, less the time spent in sailing from Cyprus to Sidon and from the Chelidonian promontory to the Aegean and the time during which the ship was wind-bound at Sidon? The word *πλαγιάζειν*, says M. Vars, 'means simply that they sailed with the wind abeam, now on the port, now on the starboard side; that they steered westward when the wind was from the north, north-eastward when it was from the north-west; and that after a long voyage to-and-fro they arrived at Athens.'³

This will not do. In what respect is M. Vars's theory more admissible than the theory which he combats? The Etesian winds must have been extraordinarily complaisant if they kept shifting with the regular and nicely adjusted alternation which M. Vars's theory demands. Besides, does not the original meaning of *πλαγιάζειν*—'to turn slantwise or obliquely'—suggest that the ship's head formed less than a right angle with the direction of the wind? As I have already shown,⁴ it must have done so in any case when the wind was abeam; and it is to my mind incredible that Cicero's *aduersi uenti*⁵ and Lucian's *ἀντίλοι Ἐτησιαί* did not sometimes blow at a less favourable angle.

Let us now examine the story of the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul. The classical commentary is James Smith's book; and there is hardly a single important controvertible statement in it from which M. Vars does not dissent. When St. Paul's ship was caught by the gale she was off the south-western coast of Crete and east of the island of Clauda. For some distance she scudded, and then, in the comparatively smooth water under the lee of Clauda, took on board the boat, which she had hitherto towed. After recording this operation, the writer of *Acts* tells us that the crew, 'fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands [Syrtis on the north coast of Africa], lowered the gear, and so were driven.'⁶

The words *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*, which in the Authorized Version are translated by 'strake sail,' and which the revisers, following Smith, rendered

¹ οἱ δὲ [ἀνεμοὶ] θέρου, ὡς οἱ ἐτησιαὶ λεγόμενοι, μῆνιν ἔχοντες τῶν τ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρκτοῦ φερόμενων καὶ ἰσχυρόων.—*De mundo*, 4. Caesar (*B.C.* iii. 107, § 1) states that the Etesian winds blew dead against ships bound from Alexandria to the province of Asia (*elestis* . . . *qui nauigantibus Alexandria flant aduersissimi uenti*), which suggests that they blew from the north-west or north.

² 'Il est complètement inadmissible que le capitaine d'Alexandrie ait dû *sauvager* deux mois, en prenant l'allure du plus près contre un vent du Nord-Est, et à l'occasion du Nord-Ouest, pour parvenir du cap

Chelidonien à Athènes' (*L'art nautique*, etc., pp. 167-8) [Breusing, p. 154].

³ 'πλαγιάζειν signifie simplement qu'on présentait tantôt un bord, tantôt l'autre au vent; qu'on gouvernait à l'Ouest par un vent du Nord et au Nord-Est par un vent du Nord-Ouest, et qu'après un long voyage on arriva à Athènes' (*L'art nautique*, etc., p. 188 [Breusing, pp. 184-5]).

⁴ See p. 28, *supra*.

⁵ See p. 27, *supra*.

⁶ φοβούμενοι τε μὴ εἰς τὴν Σύρτιν τεκνωσώμεν, χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος, ὁρμῇ ἐφέροτο.—*Acts*, xxvii. 17.

by 'lowered was 'the g the Syrtis, sails,' and before the done now' have kept t could have have been t permit her t we must th have avoid in a gale, adopted th destruction, and that s aware that the successi and finally St. Paul's is 476 mile caught by calls *Euraque* steadily from when laid she made s according t the eighteen

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¹ *The Voyage* pp. 111-3.

by 'lowered the gear,' have of course given rise to much discussion. What was 'the gear'? Smith, remarking that the object of lowering it was to avoid the Syrtis, concludes that it was the 'gear connected with the fair-weather sails,' and that 'unless the main-yard was lowered when the ship was running before the wind, which we are not told was the case, it must have been done now'; but he observes that 'this alone, however, was not sufficient to have kept the ship off a lee shore. There were but two ways by which that could have been effected. She might have been anchored, or her head might have been turned off shore, and such sail set as the violence of the gale would permit her to carry. We know that the first of the alternatives was not adopted; we must therefore conclude that the last was, for by no other way could she have avoided the apprehended danger.'¹ Then, affirming that 'a ship at sea, in a gale, must either scud or lie-to,' and that 'in the present case, to have adopted the former alternative would have been to have rushed on certain destruction,' he concludes that the ship was laid to on the starboard tack, and that she drifted in this way for fourteen days until the crew became aware that she was close to land, when, after twice sounding and finding that the successive depths were twenty and fifteen fathoms, they anchored by the stern, and finally cut away the anchors, set the foresail, and ran the ship aground. St. Paul's Bay, on the northern coast of Malta, where they made the land, is 476 miles from Clauda, and W. 8° N. of the point where the ship was caught by the gale. Smith calculates that the wind, which the writer of *Acts* calls *Euraquilo*, blew from E.N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., and, moreover, he insists that it blew steadily from that point throughout the entire drift: he believes that the ship, when laid to, lay within just seven points of the wind; and he assumes that she made six points of lee-way, or half a point less than the maximum which, according to Falconer's *Marine Dictionary*, a square-rigged merchant ship of the eighteenth century made in a heavy gale.²

Now the very first step in this argument, which Whewell followed with such submissive admiration, was made in the dark. Smith says that 'it is not easy to imagine a more erroneous translation [of the words *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*] than that of our authorised version: "Fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, strake sail and so were driven" (ver. 17). It is in fact equivalent to saying that, fearing a certain danger, they deprived themselves of the only possible means of avoiding it.' But although the effect of merely striking sail would have been that the ship would at once begin to drift towards the very place which they desired to avoid, her progress would have been so greatly retarded that fully eleven days would have elapsed before she could strike the Syrtis; and her captain, who knew the moods of a Levanter, might have expected that long before that time the gale would have spent itself or have ceased to blow from E.N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. Moreover, the translation which Smith substituted for 'strake sail'—'lowering the gear'—was, in the sense

¹ *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, pp. 111-3.

² *Id.* pp. 102, 113-5, 124-36, 142-3.

which he attached to it, precisely the same. According to him, the gear was, as we have seen, 'the gear connected with the fair-weather sails.' But (to say nothing of the fact that sail must have been shortened when the ship began to scud), since the mere lowering of this gear would, from his point of view, have been useless, he is obliged to assume that the ship was laid to under storm sails; and of this the writer of *Acts* says absolutely nothing. Sir William Ramsay,¹ who follows Smith, suggests that 'perhaps the Greek (*χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*) might be taken as a technical term denoting the entire series of operations, slackening sail, but leaving some spread for a special purpose.' But 'the entire series of operations' would have included not only 'leaving some [sail] spread for a special purpose' but also (according to Smith) setting storm-sails and bringing the ship's head from W.S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. to N. by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W., in other words, making it pass over an angle of $146^{\circ} 15'$. However, when a commentator is striving to force a reluctant text into agreement with a preconceived theory, one need not be extreme to point out that he is overloading the meaning of words. But, says Smith, 'a ship at sea, in a gale, must either scud or lie-to.' Roughly speaking, and limiting the remark to sailing vessels, this is true enough. But a third course is sometimes adopted; and M. Vars argues with considerable force that it was adopted on this occasion.² There is a contrivance called a floating anchor, a sea anchor, or a drogue, which has enabled many a fishing smack to weather the storms of the North Sea, and which was also, in some form or other, used in ancient times. It is commonly lowered over the bows, and opposes so much resistance to the water that it keeps the ship's head up to the wind, and so long as she has plenty of sea room, she rides safely and easily. M. Vars assumes that, in the case of St. Paul's ship, it was lowered over the stern; and perhaps this is a fair assumption, although it is unlikely that Smith was right in affirming, without evidence, that the trading craft of the Mediterranean were built on the same lines at stem and stern.³ Let us, however, hear Sir William Ramsay. 'Dragging stones or weights at the end of ropes from the stern, which is the meaning elicited by some German commentators and writers on nautical matters, does not,' he remarks,⁴ 'appear to be intended as a joke; but how that meaning is to be got from the Greek words (*χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*), I confess that I

¹ *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 329.

² *L'art nautique*, etc., pp. 224-31 (Breusing, pp. 178-82).

³ The forepart of the hull below the upper works differed but little in form from that of the ships of modern times; and as both ends were alike, if we suppose a full-built merchant-ship of the present day [1848] cut in two, and the stern half replaced by one exactly the same as that of the bow, we shall have a pretty accurate notion of what these ships were' (*The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 182). Mr. Torr, whom I consulted, has very kindly written, 'I should say that his [Smith's] statement that "both

ends were alike" would be correct only in this very limited sense:—In contrasting merchant-ships with war-ships, one might say that the merchant-ships had both ends alike, as their stemposts sloped up from the water-line in much the same way as their sternposts, whereas in war-ships the stemposts sloped the other way to join the ram. In other words, the statement would be true (so far as it is true at all) only of the appearance of the ships as seen from the side. I do not think it would be true of the appearance of the ships as seen from above: they would be wider at the stern than at the bows.'

⁴ *St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 330.

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³ *The Voyage*
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NO. IX. V

cannot see.' Then has the professor never heard of a sea anchor, and does he not know that it is attached to a hawser and let go over the bows like an ordinary anchor? Is it not a 'gear,' and is it not 'lowered'? Unless the writer of *Acts* omitted to mention the most important incident of the whole voyage, the gear which was lowered can only have been a sea anchor. It may of course be objected that if the gale continued to blow from E.N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., the ship would, sea anchor notwithstanding, have ultimately drifted on to the Syrtis. But the writer of *Acts* does not say that the gale throughout was an *Euraquilo*; and if you ask seamen who know the Eastern Mediterranean whether they ever experienced or heard of a gale which blew fourteen days continuously in that sea from east-north-east, their faces will be eloquent.¹ M. Vars is of course obliged to assume that the wind gradually shifted from east-north-east to south;² and Smith³ appeals to Captain J. Stewart, who states that northerly winds die away gradually; but the captain was speaking of the Archipelago.⁴ Moreover, M. Vars's theory enables him to assign the proper meaning to a word which Smith is compelled to mistranslate. The author of *Acts*, in the twenty-seventh verse of his twenty-seventh chapter, says 'we were driven up and down' in [the sea of] Adria' (*διαφερομένον ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀδρίᾳ*). But, according to Smith, *διαφερομένον* means 'driven through'; for, unless the ship drifted constantly in the same direction thirteen days and fourteen nights, his theory breaks down. Sir William Ramsay,⁵ however, says that 'Luke seems to have had the landsman's idea that they drifted to and fro in the Mediterranean.' It would be interesting to learn whether Sir William ever met a landsman with Luke's power of observation and command of nautical phraseology who entertained such an idea when it was false; but Smith's theory cannot stand without his follower's support.

Still, however untrustworthy Smith's calculations may be, I would not argue that the theory that St. Paul's ship was laid to is absolutely irreconcilable with the narrative in *Acts*. M. Vars implies that it would have been impossible to lay her to in the gale. He insists that the only sail which she could have carried was the artemon, or small foresail, which, as he truly says, would have had the effect of keeping her head off the wind; and he denies that she carried a mizen-mast. But, as Mr. Cecil Torr has shown,⁶ some Mediterranean

¹ We learn, however, from Laurie's *Mediterranean Directory*, ed. A. G. Findlay, p. 222, that in the Adriatic 'the [wind called the] *bora* . . . very often continues for nine, fifteen, and sometimes as long as thirty days, many times subsiding at intervals,' but that 'during its cessations it would be highly imprudent to set sail until the symptoms have entirely disappeared.'

² *L'art nautique*, etc., p. 241 (Breusing, p. 189). Oddly enough Breusing, in the map at the end of his book, makes St. Paul's ship drift in a direction nearly identical with that traced by Smith.

³ *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 102, n. 1.

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⁴ Smith says (*ib.* p. 176) that to suppose that an E.N.E. gale would have changed to an E.S.E. one 'is entirely contrary to the observed wind-phenomena of the Mediterranean.' I do not gainsay this assertion; but the *Mediterranean Pilot* does not support it; and Captain Stewart, to whom Smith refers, was speaking only of the Archipelago. In Laurie's *Mediterranean Directory*, ed. A. G. Findlay, 1856, p. 178, it is stated that near Malta N.E. winds sometimes veer to S.E.

⁵ Instead of 'up and down' the Revised Version has 'to and fro.'

⁶ *ib.* p. 120.

⁷ *St. Paul, the Traveller*, etc., p. 334.

⁸ See pp. 27-8, *supra*.

ships did carry three masts; and, even if St. Paul's ship had only two, is there any warrant for the assertion that only her foresail could have been set? Might she not have carried something analogous to a storm trysail?

Again, M. Vars asserts that if the ship had been laid to heavy seas would have broken over her; that, as her rudders had been lifted out of the water, it would have been impossible to keep her head up to the wind; and that, even if they had been left in their usual position, the first wave that struck her would have torn them out of the helmsman's grasp or smashed them.¹ Now when a square-rigged merchantman is laid to, the mean angle which she makes with the wind is about six or seven points; and, when her helm is lashed, she yaws so much that she keeps falling off to as much as eight or nine points from the wind and coming up again.² Why should St. Paul's ship have been in more danger when the precaution of 'frapping'³ had been taken than a modern one? As for the rudders, they were, as everybody knows, not hinged like ours, but a pair of huge paddles, one on each side of the stern. The text to which M. Vars appeals is the fortieth verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of *Acts*, which describes the preparations that were made for running the ship aground when she was in St. Paul's Bay,—'and casting off the anchors they left them in the sea, at the same time loosing the bands of the rudders, and hoisting up the foresail to the wind,' etc. This does not prove that the paddles had been lifted out of the water when the gale began; it only proves that they were lashed when the ship was anchored by the stern off Malta.⁴ It is possible, however, that they were lashed during the gale; for the helm of a modern ship is sometimes lashed when she is laid to. And why, if St. Paul's ship was laid to, should the steering paddles have been broken any more than a modern rudder in like circumstances, or than the steering paddles of one

¹ *L'art nautique*, etc., pp. 222-4 (Breusing, pp. 176-7).

² She has perhaps a maintopsail or trysails, and comes up to within six points, and falls off to wind abeam, forging rather ahead,' etc. (Admiral W. H. Smyth, *The Sailor's Word-Book*, 1867, p. 442).

³ *Acts*, xxvii. 17, βαρβέλαις ἐκπῶντο, ἐφορῶντες τὸ πλοῖον ('they used helps, undergirding the ship').

⁴ This obscure statement,' says Mr. Torr (*Ancient Ships*, v. 42, n. 102), 'seems to mean that they used expedients which answered the purpose of the girding-cables [ἐφορῶντα]. They would not find any of these cables on board, for they were on a merchant-ship, and these were used for war-ships; nor could they fix them on a ship during a storm at sea, for even in a dockyard this was a long and troublesome process.' But is the statement obscure? There has been much controversy as to whether the ἐφορῶντα were fastened horizontally or vertically. Mr. Torr. (*op. cit.* p. 41, n. 100), quoting Athenaeus, v. 37, Vitruvius, x. 15, 6, and Plato, *Civitas*, p. 616 C, affirms that they extended 'from stem to stern along the starboard side and back from stern to stem along the port side'; but, as he truly says, they

could not have been so fastened during a storm. Some fifteen years ago, when the use of ἐφορῶντα was being discussed in the *Athenaeum*, I went into the Young Street Station of the London Fire Brigade and had a talk with one of the men, who, like every man in the force, had been a sailor. I asked him (knowing what the answer would be) whether, in the operation of frapping a ship during a gale, the cable could usefully be passed from stem to stern. He looked silently at me in blank amazement; and his look said, 'Are you an amiable lunatic?' Only he would have used other words. I told him that I knew what I was talking about, and that my question only embodied a suggestion made by others. Then he replied, 'To pass a cable round a ship from stem to stern would be impossible in a gale, and if it could be done it wouldn't be of no use. I've served in the timber trade myself between Hull and Norway, and helped in the job. It's done with a chain cable, and you make three or four turns round the hull.' Cf. J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, pp. 108-9, 210-5.

⁵ See J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 141, n. 2.

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⁵ Suidas,

group of Caesar's cavalry transports, which must have been struck repeatedly by heavy seas? Still, although I dissent from this part of M. Vars's book, I agree with him that there is nothing in the narrative of St. Paul's voyage during the gale which proves that ancient ships could work to windward.

But the account of that stage of the voyage which immediately preceded the gale is very significant. The ship had reached Fair Havens, or Kalo Limniones, as it is still called, in Crete. This anchorage is about east by north of Cape Matala, or (which comes to the same thing) of a point intermediate between it and Cape Matala.¹ 'When the south wind blew softly,' says the writer, 'supposing that they had obtained their purpose, loosing thence they sailed close by Crete.'² 'The south wind' is a vague expression; but, according to one reckoning then in vogue, it denoted a wind which blew from any point within fifteen degrees of due south on either side. If the wind was due south, St. Paul's ship must have sailed within less than seven points of it in order to weather Cape Matala. If it was a little west of south, which M. Vars³ candidly remarks is probable, she must have sailed nearer still.

Again, when the writer of *Acts*⁴ says that the ship 'could not face the wind'—the literal translation is 'could not look into the wind' (*μὴ δύναμενον ἀποφθαλμῶν τῷ ἀνέμῳ*)—does he not imply that in moderate weather she could have worked to windward?⁵

The passage relating to Caesar's cavalry transports which I quoted at the beginning of this paper deserves more consideration than it has received. From what point was the gale blowing? Evidently from between the east and north. For if it had blown from any point between the north and west, it could not have driven the transports westward; and if it had blown from any point south of east or west, those transports would have been in imminent danger of going ashore, whereas they were in fact able to stand out to sea from off the south coast and get back to the continent: on the other hand, it would have been utterly impossible, against a southerly, a south-easterly, or a south-westerly gale, either for these ships or for those which were carried back to the port from which they had started, to fetch the French coast. If the wind had blown from north-east by north, or from any more northerly point, those which ran before it would have been sheltered under the lee of the cliffs west of the South Foreland. If it had blown from east by north, none of the ships could have got back to their starting-point unless they could work to windward. Let us therefore suppose that it blew from some point between north-east by east and east-north-east. Let us also assume—what I have proved in *Ancient Britain*—that the port from which the cavalry transports started was Ambleteuse; for if it was any other

¹ See the French Government map, *Île de Crète* (1878), issued by the *Service géographique de l'armée*.

² *Acts*, xxvii. 13.

³ *L'art nautique*, etc., p. 202 (Breusing, p. 163).

⁴ xxvii. 15.

⁵ Suidas, a lexicographer of the tenth century,

implies the same when he says (*Lexicon*, ed. G. Bernhardt, i. 1853, p. 335) that the word *ἀνακωχεῖν* is used 'when there is a storm at sea, and a ship is allowed to drift under bare poles without attempting to make head against it (*ὅταν χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐν πέλῳ στείλῃνται τὰ ἄρματα σαλεύουσιν αὐτοὶ μὴ διαμαχημένοι τῷ πνεύματι*).

they could by no possibility have fetched it unless they could work to windward, nor even then unless they could lie much closer to the wind than a modern square-rigged vessel. For the same reason I assume—what I have also proved—that Caesar's camp was near Walmer or Deal: those who place it at Hythe or Lympne or Pevensey commit themselves not only to many other absurdities but also to the belief that the Gallic transports could work to windward as well as, if not better than, a modern lugger or a Thames barge.¹ Now since the camp was near Walmer, the transports, when they were descried from it, must have been off the South Foreland or a little to the north of it, and about north by west of Ambleteuse. Therefore their true course would have lain between twelve and nine points of the wind; and if they could not work to windward and therefore could not lie to, they would have had to sail with the wind from one to four points abaft the beam, assuming that they made no lee-way. But if their true course had been only nine points off the wind, they must have made some lee-way in the gale and under short canvas, and, to allow for it, would have had to sail with the wind abeam or even to windward. To sail in such weather with the wind four points abaft the beam, that is, on the quarter, would have been about as dangerous a course as can be imagined: if the vessels which ran before the wind were in great peril, vessels sailing at this angle would have been in peril greater still; yet it is evident from Caesar's narrative that they were comparatively secure. Again, for these small vessels to sail with the wind abeam or nearly abeam would have been very hazardous: it is to avoid such a risk that ships in like circumstances are laid to. Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge has, however, suggested to me that they did sail with the wind nearly abeam; for he believes, I do not know why, that ancient ships could not work to windward. When I asked him how he would dispose of the question of danger, he replied that Caesar probably exaggerated the force of the wind. But Caesar was a very careful observer, and had had considerable experience of navigation: when he wrote that some of the transports had been 'in great peril' he doubtless followed the reports of their commanders; and the wind, whatever its force may have been, was strong enough to drive ashore and to wreck ships which were anchored, probably, like those of the Veneti,² with chain cables. Is it not safer to accept his statement than to rewrite it without any evidence? Except Sir Cyprian Bridge, all the nautical experts whom I consulted agreed that the transports which 'were carried back to the point from which they had started' would, if they could work to windward, have been laid to; and ships engaged in the tin-trade between the mouth of the

¹ Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, 1907, pp. 613, 624-5, 740-1. I may add to what is written on pp. 740-1 that my friend and former pupil, Mr. W. H. Stuart Garnett, who is not only a thorough seaman but an accomplished mathematician, assures me that not even a racing cutter, such as Fyfe's *Shamrock*, can lie within less than about 3½ points in fairly smooth water

consistently with going to windward effectively. 'In a light air,' he adds, 'and in perfectly smooth water such a boat would actually lie much closer (I should say 2 points off), but will go so slowly that it is no use for the purpose of getting anywhere. If there is the least sea, the driving force is not enough to put her through it.'

² *B.G.* vii. 13, § 5.

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⁴ iii.

Loire and Cornwall¹ would have fared badly if they had not been able to lie to when a north-easterly gale was blowing. To drift into the Atlantic with a sea anchor would not have been helpful. Consider what is involved in the admission, necessitated as it is by direct and trustworthy evidence, that ancient ships could sail with the wind abeam. It implies, as I have already observed, either that in so sailing they often drifted out of their course or that they sailed to windward in order to counteract the effect of lee-way. Shallow beamy vessels like those which Caesar designed for his second expedition to Britain were doubtless unable to make good a course within less than eight points of the wind. But when a ship of ordinary depth can sail with the wind abeam the discovery cannot but follow that even when the wind is blowing at an acute angle with her direction she will, when the yards are braced, still go ahead; and the discovery once made must have been utilized. Caesar makes a statement in his *Civil War*,² which, conjoined with those that I have already examined, is, to my mind, decisive. Calenus, he says, embarked an army at Brundisium (Brindisi), intending to sail to Apollonia on the opposite coast. After he had gone a short distance he met a dispatch vessel (doubtless a galley, which had oars as well as sails), bearing a note from Caesar, which warned him to put back. Thereupon he returned to Brundisium; but a vessel which was sailing under his escort ran on and was captured. Unless Calenus had sailed from Brundisium with the wind exactly abeam, he had to beat up against it on his way back; for the few oars which merchant ships sometimes used in going about³ would hardly have availed him. Finally, there is a passage in the *Etymologiae*⁴ of Isidore of Seville, a writer of the early seventh century, which, if I do not misinterpret it, proves that the art not only of working to windward but also of tacking was known to the ancients. 'The artemon,' he says, 'was contrived rather in order to direct the ship than to increase its speed' (*Artemon dirigendae potius navis causa commentatum quam celeritatis*). A sailor who knew that the *artemon* was a small foresail or something between a foresail and a jib would at once perceive the significance of this text. When a ship was going about in tacking and had come right up into the wind, the effect of such a sail would be to make her 'pay off,' that is, to drive her off the wind and bring her round on the other tack. If she failed to pay off, she would of course miss stays and begin to go astern. It is perhaps just possible that Isidore's words might be taken as meaning that the *artemon* helped to balance the other sail or sails; but the meaning which I attach to them seems much more natural.

It may be objected (though the objection will not come from a seaman) that if ancient ships had been able to tack they would not have been, as they frequently were, compelled to put back to ports from which they had started, or unable, like Caesar's cavalry transports, to sail from one port to another only five miles distant. But, judging simply from accounts of voyages which are to

¹ See my *Ancient Britain*, pp. 499-514.

² *iii*. 14, §§ 1-2.

³ C. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 20.

⁴ *six*. 4.

be found in histories, books of travel, and official archives,¹ a lay reader of a future generation, if he were not aware that sailing-vessels of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries could sail within about six points of the wind, might be inclined to infer that they could not work to windward at all. Unless we were thoroughly acquainted with all the relevant facts relating to the accounts in ancient books of unsuccessful or circuitous voyages—the force of the wind, the strength and direction of the current, the build, rig, and quality of the ship, whether anything was to be gained by tacking, and whether tacking could have been safely attempted by captains who had no compasses—we could not form an opinion of their capabilities. Where the wind was not too strong and tacking was safely practicable, as in the Archipelago or in working along a shore like the south of Asia Minor, I have no doubt that it was resorted to.

T. RICE HOLMES.

¹ For example, in those which are quoted *passim* in Capt. Deslatrière's *Projets et tentatives de débarquement*, etc.

[NOTE.—Mr. Torr, who has been so kind as to read this article, writes:

'I have been very much interested in the proof. There are just three points in it to which I may draw your attention.

I. The article is hardly complete without a discussion of Aristotle, *mechanica*, 8 (quoted, *Ancient Ships*, p. 96, n. 206).

II. In Caesar, *B.G.* iv. 28, you take *aliae*—*aliae*—*quae* as some—the others—they, *i.e.* these others. It strikes me as possible to take this as some—others—others again. In that case it would mean that some of the ships were driven one way and some another; others, however, anchored, but found afterwards that they could not ride out the gale, and therefore stood out to sea.

III. As to *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος*, I think it would be well to refer to Procopius, *B.V.* i. 17, *χαλάσαντας τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία*, and Thucydides, vii. 24, viii. 43, as to using *σκεῖη* for the sails and things belonging to them (passages quoted in *Ancient Ships*, pp. 86, 87, nn. 184, 189).'

The passage in Aristotle runs as follows: *διὰ τί, ὅταν ἐξ οὐρίας βούλωνται διαδραμεῖν μὴ οὐρίου τοῦ πνεύματος ὄντος, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὸν κυβερνήτην τοῦ ἱστίου μέρος στέλλονται, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πρῶταν ποδιάον* [for which Mr. Torr, referring to Lycophron, 1015, would read *ποδωτῶν*] *ποιητῶμενοι ἐφίσταν; ἢ διότι ἀντιπῶν τὸ πηδάλιον πολλῶ μὲν ὄντι τῷ πνεύματι οὐ δύναται, ὀλίγῳ δὲ διδ ὑποστέλλονται; προάγει μὲν οὖν τὸ πνεῦμα, εἰς οἶμον δὲ καθίστησι τὸ πηδάλιον, ἀντισπῶν καὶ μοχλεῖον τὴν θάλατταν. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ οἱ ναῦται μάχονται τῷ πνεύματι· ἀνακλίνουσι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνάντιον ἑαυτοῖς.* I translate 'Why do sailors, when they want to make a good run in spite of an unfavourable wind, furl the after part of the sail, make fast the fore part by the sheet, and give it free play? Do they furl the sail because the rudder cannot counteract a strong wind, but only a light one? The truth is that the wind makes the vessel forge ahead, while the rudder makes the wind, as it were, favourable, drawing the sea in the opposite direction and acting like a lever. At the same time the crew also contend with the wind, leaning their weight in the opposite direction.' The yard was of course braced round so as to bring it towards a

line with the axis of the vessel. On first reading the passage, I was inclined to infer from the last sentence (which seems to imply that the crew sat to windward) that it was an attempt to explain the theory of beating to windward. But I cannot understand why the after part of the sail was furled. Supposing that the wind which Aristotle calls unfavourable blew from any point abaft the beam, what was the use of brailing up the after part of the sail, thereby sacrificing three-fourths of its area (for the part that remained unfurled would necessarily have assumed a quasi triangular shape)? Supposing, on the other hand, that the object was to beat to windward, surely the fore part of the sail, if it alone had been left standing, would have driven the vessel's head off the wind? In fact it would have tended to do so even in the other case. I am not rash enough to suggest that Aristotle meant the reverse of what he said.]

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SENECA'S LETTERS: NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

(Continued from Vol. II. p. 30.)

li. 1. tu istic habes Aetnam †et illuc nobilissimum Siciliae montem.

Chatelain's *editum ac* is almost certainly on the right road. But *editum* seems a little feeble: *inclitum* would be a good deal better, and very easy palaeographically, if we bear in mind the probability of the first syllable's being absorbed in the last letter of *Aetnam*. But an adjective linked with a superlative like *nobilissimum* ought, if not itself a superlative, at any rate to have somewhat similar force: *eximium* would satisfy this condition. The confusion of *i* or single strokes of *u* and *m* with *l* is not uncommon in these MSS.: cp. esp. 47. 10, where all have *illis* for the necessary *uis* which Macrobius gives.

liii. 6. leuis aliquem motiuncula decipit, sed cum creuit et uera febris exarsit, etiam duro et perpessio confessionem †excipit.

So pLV, except that p has *aliquam*, pL *motiunculam* or *-lum*, L *exceptit*.

There is no objection to the figure involved in 'a slight ailment deceives one,' but to speak of the ailment afterwards as 'wresting a confession' from us is too violent a change. It is clear that the *person* is the deceiver, and the very slight change to *aliqua* (cp. p's reading) and *decipitur* secures all we need.¹ For the constant omission or intrusion of *-ur* in these MSS. see my note on V 5 (p. 23): it generally occurs before a full stop, but cp. 85. 15, where VP Parb agree in wrongly omitting it before a pause much less decided than the one before *sed* here.

Agricola's conjecture *exprimit* for *excipit*, which Hense does not admit to his text, I regard as certain: Seneca uses the verb at least twice with *confessio* (in *Clem.* I. 1. 7 as here with a dative) and readings like *depmit* (79. 10) and *pmunt* (85. 38) shew how readily *exprimit* would become *expmit*, after which *expicit* and *excipit* would follow easily enough. *Accipit* which some edd. read, and *exigit*, which had occurred to me, would require the insertion of a before *duro*.

§ 9. 'You mustn't think you can make philosophy attend your leisure: exercet regnum suum: dat tempus, non accipit. non est res subseciua . . . domina est, adest et iubet.'

¹For the order cp. 83. 7 'subita aliqua et uniuersa tenuemque motum,' *Hel.* 17. 1 'leuis aliqua desiderii uoce,' *Ira* 1. 16. 7 'sentiet leuem quemdam nota.'

Hense adopts the suggestion of Haase (approved by Madvig) *adesse iubet*. The sense is good, but the rhythm very exceptional in Seneca. If the MSS. reading cannot mean 'comes up of itself and issues its orders' (for which cp. 78. 27 *mors adcedit et vocat*: but I admit one would expect *ultra*), then I would suggest *adest ut libet*.

§ 10. 'Alexander, when a deputation offered him half the lands of their city, replied "eo proposito . . . ueni ut non id acciperem quod dedissetis, sed ut id haberetis quod reliquissetm." idem philosophia rebus omnibus: non sum hoc tempus acceptura quod etc.'

Rebus has been much worried: Haupt proposed *uerbis*, Wolters *uobis*, Buecheler *regibus*: Hense whilst accepting none of these obelises the text. But surely it is sufficiently defended by § 8 'illi (=philosophy) te totum dedica . . . *omnibus aliis rebus* te nega, fortiter, aperte.' The thought is the same in both passages, though the image varies. Here the picture is that of the *other* occupations claiming a certain amount of time and leaving to philosophy only any fraction that they do not require.

liv. 6. Seneca has had a bad attack of palpitation: 'deinde paulatim suspirium illud quod esse iam anhelitus coeperat, interualla maiora fecit et retardatum est ac remansit.'

As *remanere* never means 'come to a standstill,' I propose *remisit*, the regular word for the abatement of disease, etc.: Liv. 2. 34. 6 (*pestilentia*), Cic. *Brut.* 130 (*dolores pedum*), Cels. 7. 18 (*tumor*).

lv. 4. Seneca describes the villa in which Vatia, he says, buried himself alive rather than enjoyed retirement. 'The crowd applies the epithets *otiosus*, *securus*, *sibi uiuens*, etc., to every person who has retired from public life, but they belong in reality only to the *sapiens*. ille sollicitus scit sibi uiuere. ille enim quod est primum scit uiuere.'

The ordinary punctuation is adopted above: Hense very naturally remarks that we should expect 'ille *solus non* sollicitus,' etc. An easier remedy is to take both sentences interrogatively (and so virtually as negatives). *Ille* is then not the *sapiens*, but Vatia, who, as Seneca makes clear in § 5, is not really *securus* but is suffering from jealousy, greed, lust, etc.: cp. too 56. 11-12. 'Do you think an uneasy fool like this knows how to live for himself? Why, does he know the first part of the lesson even, how to live at all?' For this ironical *enim*, which is not uncommon in Seneca, cp. esp. 77. 18 '*nunc enim uiuis?*' 'Why, do you think you're alive now?'

§ 6. speluncae sunt duae . . . † cuius laxo atrio pares.

I suggest *quamuis*, which Seneca uses pretty often with adjectives to denote 'ever so' 'the most . . . you can imagine': cp. e.g. 85. 12 *quamuis lenia* initia morborum serpunt, et aegra corpora *minimum* interdum mergit adcessio.' If read *quum-* (or *quom-*) *uis* it would become *ciuis*, of which *cuius* would be a

most probable outcome. In § 13 of the next letter *quem* has become *cum* in pLV. Lipsius' *cuius* is as good palaeographically, but seems to me less Senecan.

lvi. 2. Seneca, who is lodging over a bath, has given a vivid description of the various sounds that issue from it, the slaps of the *massageur*, the counting of the ball player, the touting calls of the *depilator*. Then our MSS. make him say

'iam biberari uarias exclamationes et botularium et crustularium et omnes popinarum institores mercem sua quadam et insignita modulatione uendentis. "O te" inquis "ferreum aut surdum,"' etc.

Caelius Rhodiginus suggested (*iam*) *libarii*. That the word is not found elsewhere is not against it, for the same applies to its companions here. But (1) the *libarius*, like the sausage-seller and the muffin-man, will have a special call of his own, not *uariarum exclamationes*, and (2) we still miss the verb that governs all these accusatives. That *liberari* involves *enumerare* I feel certain. The active and passive infin. terminations are continually interchanged in these MSS., and the confusion of *b* and *m* (natural enough in view of the frequency of the confusion of *b* with *u* and *n*) is found, e.g., in 78. 6 (*borbi*) and 88. 39 (*haeremo*). As for the verb to govern this infinitive, I think it must be *piget*, which might fall out before *iam* after the *cogit* which ends the previous sentence.

lxiii. 4. 'We must try and make the memory of our dead a pleasure, else we shall be trying to forget them: nemo libenter ad id redit quod non sine tormento cogitaturus est. †sicut illud fieri necesse est, ut cum aliquo nobis morsu amissorum . . . nomen occurrat. sed hic quoque morsus habet suam voluptatem.'

For *sicut* Hense reads *sic et*, which does not seem to me to improve matters: it could not be equivalent to *sic quoque*, and I fail to see what force the collocation could have.

Just above Seneca imagines an opponent, who says 'quid ergo? obliuiscar amici?' I think this same opponent now says 'I know what you say is true, but all the same . . .,' and we get this if we read '*scio: at . . . occurrat.*' Cp. Sen. *Contr.* 7. 2. 11 'dixi "Cicero me defendit": respondit, "scio: me accusauit," and esp. Teles 47 H, where the reply begins *Nai ἀλλὰ . . .* The concessive *scio* occurs (parenthetically) in 66. 50 again.

lxxvi. 5. Seneca says he is 'going to school' even at his age. 'Perge, Lucili, et propera tibi †nec tibi accadat quod mihi, ut senex discas.'

The usual remedy is to drop the first *tibi* and read *ne*. Hense reads *tibi ne et ipsi*, but the emphasis on *tibi* is surely sufficient without the addition of *ipsi*. I think *nec* is simply a confusion for *ne* (*h*)*oc*, the second *tibi* having crept in owing to the unusual position of the other.

Continuing, Seneca says 'immo ideo magis propria quoniam id non adgressus es quod perdiscere uix senex possis.'

At first I thought this might be right: he says at first 'go on and make good speed,' then corrects himself and, omitting 'go on,' says 'make haste the more, as the job you haven't (yet) started is one that you will hardly be able to complete if you live to a great age.' But this would surely require *nondum*. Buecheler's *diu non*, adopted by Hense, seems to me a very unnatural expression for *sero*, so I suggest 'quoniam id negotium adgressus es,' etc. Cp. 47. 9 'ingens negotium in manibus est,' 51. 6 'si quis sibi proposuerit quantum operis adgressus sit.'

lxxvii. 10. 'saepe debemus mori nec uolumus, morimur nec uolumus.'

The contrast being *debemus mori* and *morimur* is thoroughly Senecan, but so is the particle *immo*, which should be read I think after the first *uolumus*. Cp. 120. 17 'nihil satis est morituris, immo morientibus.'

lxxviii. 8. 'maximi dolores consistunt in macerrimis corporis partibus: nerui articuli et quidquid aliud exile est, acerrime saeuit, cum in arto uitia concepit.'

So the MSS., and edd., including Hense. But the singular *saeuit* is quite opposed to Senecan syntax. Of course it is easy to change to *saeuiunt*, but is *saeuire* the natural verb to use of the parts themselves? One finds it used with *amor*, *fames*, *febris*, *morbis*, *uenenium*, above all *dolor*, but I cannot find an expression like the one in the text. I believe *saeuit* is a corruption for *sentit* (*sc.* corpus), the last seven words forming a separate clause. This change will necessitate the further alteration *neruis articulisque* in the clause *nerui—est*, which will now be in apposition to *partibus*. 'The greatest pain settles in the finest parts of the body—sinews, joints, etc. The body feels most acutely when it goes wrong in some fine part.'

Going on, Seneca notes that these parts soon get numbed and gives two possible reasons. The one we are concerned with is this: 'spiritus naturalis prohibitus cursu et mutatus in peius uim suam, qua uiget admonetque nos, perdit.'

The 'point' that a thing's *uis* is that through which it—*viget* is not to be imputed to Seneca. Probably *uiget* has displaced *urget*: cp. for this word 97. 15 'illum sollicitudo urget ac uerberat.'

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THE LEGIONS OF THE EUPHRATES FRONTIER.

IN a recently-published work of much learning and great interest, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la Conquête Arabe* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1907), M. Victor Chapot has dealt at some length with the history of the eastern legions. But neither he, nor, so far as I can find, any other writer, has attempted to fix their camps with full regard to chronology, and many points have been left uncertain. Although there is little direct evidence—less than for any other part of the Roman Empire—it may be possible to construct with reasonable probability a more exact military map of the eastern frontier.

I. *The Legions of Cappadocia and Galatia.*

Up to Vespasian's reign the regular garrisons of these provinces consisted of auxiliaries only, commanded partly by the praetorian legatus of Galatia, partly by the procurator of Cappadocia; though legionaries were also often present in force, when occasion required. Corbulo's wars led Nero to prepare the way for a new system by annexing in 63 the kingdoms of Pontus, Sophene, and probably Armenia Minor,¹ thus establishing direct Roman control along the whole line of the upper Euphrates. It was left for Vespasian, as Suetonius tells us, to 'add legions' to Cappadocia as a permanent garrison, a record confirmed by Tacitus when he says of these provinces in 69: 'inermes legati regebant, nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus.'² We learn also from Suetonius that the Cappadocian procurator was at the same time superseded by a consular governor, who by constitutional rule was alone capable of commanding more than one legion. The evidence that there were at least two legions is thus complete.

Yet doubts have been raised, partly because only one legion is directly recorded, but mainly because among the Flavian governors of the Cappadocian province there appear to be some of praetorian rank only. M. Cumont therefore in a recent article³ tries to explain away Tacitus and Suetonius. Tacitus, he says, was thinking of the two legions which were in garrison when he wrote, and was thus guilty of anachronism; while Suetonius mistook the boundaries of Cappadocia, including therein Samosata with its legion, to which we shall return presently. The occasional appearance of a consular governor among the

¹ Suet. *Nero* 18; *CIL* iii 6741-2-3 with notes—the new reading 'Arsamosata' in Dio Cassius (see infra) agrees; *CIL* iii 306 (cf. p. 975) now better read by Cumont (cf. n. 3 infra), proves that Armenia Minor was provincial at least by 76 A.D.

² Suet. *Vesp.* 8; Tac. *H.* ii 81.

³ *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique*, 1905 pp. 197 ff.

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praetorians is due he thinks to the temporary presence of extra troops. The necessity for such explanations is obviated by Ritterling's view,¹ which is certainly correct, that the praetorian governors in question were only 'legati iuridici' subordinate to the consulars, though as the inscriptions show they had the whole province for their diocese. A similar office was instituted by Vespasian in Britain and perhaps in Tarraconensis for the relief of overburdened consulars; it was no less necessary here.

As to the first of the two legions there is no dispute. It was the XII Fulminata, sent by Titus to Melitene in Cappadocia in the autumn of 70, after the fall of Jerusalem, where it had been engaged.² The second was in all probability, as Domaszewski supposes,³ the newly created XVI Flavia Firma. It is often assigned, it is true, to Samosata in Commagene from the annexation in 72; but there is no evidence for that position earlier than Ptolemy, about 150 A.D., and another legion, as we shall see, was probably there until the end of Trajan's reign. The XVI Flavia must have contained a considerable remnant of the disbanded XVI Gallica—the detachment which had fought for Vitellius in Italy and was thus free from the stain of mutiny. These men would have no claim upon Vespasian's gratitude; he was not likely to transfer them from the hardships of Germany to the easy service of Syria. The upper Euphrates would suit his policy much better, being a post of danger as well as far away from old scenes.⁴ The XII Fulminata had been sent from Syria to Melitene as a punishment for defeat by the Jews in 66; similarly Claudius had once threatened to transfer five auxiliary regiments from Judaea to Pontus.⁵ In the great dearth of inscriptions from the eastern frontier it is not surprising that the forty years' sojourn of the XVI Flavia on the upper Euphrates should have left no trace. There is no record of the XII Fulminata yet discovered at Melitene, where it lay for several centuries. Only one inscription⁶ can be quoted as affording even a slight presumption in favour of our view. It records a centurion who served successively in the legions XV Apollinaris in Pannonia, V Macedonica in Moesia, and XVI Flavia. He reached the last-named late in Domitian's reign. Pannonia bordered on Moesia, and Moesia was in close military connexion, both by land and sea, with the upper Euphrates; geographical probability therefore points to Cappadocia as the third province of service. No legion is available for this position other than the XVI Flavia: it can hardly have been ready to take up its quarters before the middle of 71. The XV Apollinaris replaced it under Trajan, and remained permanently.

Some who assign the XVI Flavia to Syria from the first suppose that the XV Apollinaris came to Cappadocia much earlier, even under Vespasian.⁷ But

¹ *Jahreshefte des Österr. Archäol. Instituts* x 1907 pp. 299 ff.

² Josephus *B.J.* vii 18.

³ *Korrespondenzblatt d. Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* xi, 1892, 115; followed by Gsell (doubtfully) *Domitien* p. 157, and by Cagnat in Daremberg et Saglio s.v. *Legio*; but without discussion.

⁴ Tac. *H.* ii 80, 'ut Germanicas legiones in Suriam ad militiam opulentam quietamque transferret.' Cf. iii 46 for Vespasian's policy.

⁵ Jos. *Ant.* xix 365.

⁶ *CIL* iii 7397.

⁷ E.g. Chapot *op. cit.* p. 74 n. 5; J. A. R. Munro, *Journ. of Hell. Studies* xxi 1901 p. 61 n. 3.

this contradicts the direct statement of Josephus, that Vespasian sent it to Pannonia, and the clear evidence of inscriptions that it remained there until the second century.¹

Where was the camp? Hardly at Melitene; Domitian's law against double camps would have forbidden that from 89 at latest. There is no possible site to the southward. We must look northward, beyond Cappadocia proper. True, our authorities say that both legions were in Cappadocia. But the northern frontier districts were all in Cappadocia as distinct from Galatia when they wrote, and are indeed included therein by Pliny, who claims special knowledge here, writing under Vespasian; the population was in fact Cappadocian.² Contemporary inscriptions use the short term 'provincia Cappadocia' to include Galatia and its dependencies also,³ which were united with Cappadocia into one great double province by Vespasian. Domitian's return, late in his reign, to the old division affords some positive evidence. For since there could not have been two legions at Melitene, the *praetorian* legatus who was then set over the whole province except Cappadocia proper presumably commanded one. And this one can hardly have been elsewhere than upon the frontier in Armenia Minor.

A northern camp was indeed even more necessary than that of Melitene. The restlessness of the tribes on both sides of the Caucasus was a continual anxiety; probably the 'continuous inroads of barbarians' which Suetonius gives as Vespasian's motive for reorganising Cappadocia are to be referred mainly to this region, since for the moment there was secure peace and friendship with Parthia and Armenia. Philo, writing about 40 A.D., says that the Euphrates was the frontier not only against Parthia, but also against the Scythians and Sarmatians, who were as dangerous as the Germans on the Rhine.⁴ Nero's projected northern expedition through the Pass of Darius suggests danger from the Alani north of the Caucasus; though no raids by them are recorded so early, Lucan twice speaks of them as dangerous foemen. Even in Pompey's mouth his words have a contemporary application:

— paterem cum Caspia claustra
Et sequeretur duros aeterni Martis Alanos.⁵

For the policy described, of friendship with Parthia and war in the north, was Nero's also. Anicetus' rising in 69 showed how frail was the allegiance of the petty kings south of the mountains. The embassies to Parthia and Armenia in that year were probably intended to provide not only against local freebooting but against the northern terror when the frontier was for the moment weakened. A few years later Pliny writes of the isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian: 'Asia is made unsafe by that narrow neck of land.' He gives evidence

¹ Jos. *B.J.* vii 117; see my note in *Class. Quarterly* ii p. 111.

² Plin. *N.H.* vi 8; Marquardt, *L'Organisation de l'Empire Rom.* ii p. 294 n. 7.

³ *CIG* 3548; Dittenberger *Orientalis Gr. Inscr. Selectae* 486 n.

⁴ Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* p. 547 M.

⁵ Lucan viii 222-3, x 454.

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of considerable Roman interest in Darial.¹ Statius' lines to Victorius Marcellus, who was looking forward to the command of a legion towards the end of Domitian's reign, are important here:

... 'Forsitan ibis ...

Aut Histrum seruire latus metuendae portae

Limina Caspiae. . . .²

The Caspian Gate was not, of course, the pass in the north of Persia, which was quite beyond the Roman sphere, but Darial, to which the name was also applied: there was much confusion among the ancient authorities between the 'Caspian' and 'Caucasian' Gates. And if Darial was within the province of a Roman legatus, a legion must have been comparatively near, if it had not detachments on the spot. Roman troops, possibly legionaries, were in fact at Harmozika (Tiflis), the capital of Iberia (which controlled Darial), in 75.³

The cumulative evidence for a northern camp is thus very strong; and no site can be suggested except Satala in Armenia Minor. It was a great place of arms before Trajan began his eastern campaigns; and we know of no occasion save this for its creation. It was certainly the permanent camp of the legio XV Apollinaris from Trajan's time. It commanded the highway from the west which led by Elegia into the heart of Armenia—a way followed by successive hordes of eastern invaders in earlier⁴ as in later days. It was in easy communication with the sea at Trapezus. And some direct evidence is afforded by a milestone of 76 A.D. which has been found on a road leading towards it (though forty miles distant), proving military occupation of the neighbourhood at that date.⁵ Hence we conclude that the XVI Flavia Firma was encamped at Satala from 71.⁶

II. The Legions of Syria.

The original establishment for Syria under Augustus consisted of three legions, III Gallica, VI Ferrata, and X Fretensis. By 23 A.D. a fourth had been added, the XII Fulminata.⁷ None of them was encamped upon the frontier; the VI Ferrata lay near Laodicea ad mare, perhaps at Apamea; the X Fretensis at Cyrrhus, the XII Fulminata at Raphanaeae;⁸ the III Gallica cannot be located in this period. The IV Scythica came with others for Corbulo's wars, but it alone remained permanently. Then in Vespasian's redistribution the X Fretensis became the permanent garrison of Jerusalem and, as

¹ Tac. *II*. ii 82; Plin. *N.H.* vi 30, 31 'tantis iterum angustiis infestatur Asia' ('iterum' refers to a geographical misconception of the shape of Asia Minor; the Gulf of Issus was made to run too far north).

² Statius, *Silvae* iv 4, 61.

³ *Inscript. Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (IGA) iii 133 = Dessau 8795.

⁴ Strabo xi 8, 3-4 p. 779.

⁵ *C.I.I.* iii 306, cf. n. 1 supra.

⁶ For Satala in general see Yorke in *Geog. Jour.* viii p. 459; Hogarth in *Athenaeum* 1894 ii p. 73 and *A. Wandering Scholar* p. 136; Munro in *J.H.S.* 21 (1901) p. 61.

⁷ Josephus *Ant.* xvii 286 ff. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 5; cf., generally, Cagnat s.v. Legio in *Daremberg et Saglio*.

⁸ Tac. *Ann.* ii. 79; ii 57; Jos. *B.J.* vii 18.

we have seen, the XII Fulminata of Melitene. The legions were thus reduced to three, their original number: the III Gallica, IV Scythica, and VI Ferrata.

Before the Jewish war the X Fretensis had been advanced from Cyrrhus to the Euphrates.¹ When it was ordered south, its place on the river was immediately filled. For before the siege of Jerusalem Titus could draw 3,000 'guards' from the Euphrates, who must have been legionaries like those whom they replaced in Judaea.² The camp was probably at Zeugma, a place of prime importance for its crossing of the Euphrates. It had witnessed Crassus' passage to the field of Carrhae. It had been occupied in force by Corbulo as by previous generals; for a Parthian invasion, always possible by this route, had seemed imminent in 62. This gives a special point to Lucan's lines, written soon afterwards, which he puts into the mouth of Pompey:

'— Nunc Parthia ruptis
Excedat claustris uetitam per saecula ripam
Zeugmaque Pellaeum.'

Titus visited Zeugma in 70, to meet a Parthian embassy: there would be an imposing military force to do him honour. A few years later Statius calls Zeugma 'Latinae pacis iter' and implies that it was a place of arms; and Trajan made it his base for a march into Mesopotamia.³ Some more direct evidence will be mentioned presently.

The legion at Zeugma must have been the IV Scythica. It was the only Syrian legion not fully employed either in Judaea with Titus or in the west with Mucianus. Naturally it had replaced the X Fretensis on the frontier; and Titus drew upon it as his last reserve. It had previously supplied 2,000 men to Cestius Gallus in 66 for his abortive invasion of Judaea.

Josephus, indeed, does not identify more closely the 3,000 'guards.' But that the IV Scythica did send a detachment, otherwise unrecorded, to Jerusalem, may be proved by means of an inscription (C.I.L. XI 1834=Dessau 1000, from Arrctium)—'. . . [T]i. f. Pom. Firmo | . . . c., tr. mil. leg. IIII | . . . ic. leg. Aug. Vesp., q. Aug., orn. praetoricis a senatu auctorib. | imperatorib. Vesp. et Tito adlect., | [ab eisd. i]mperator. d(onis) d(onato) coron. III aur. | [mur. classic]a, hast. pur. III, praetor., | [d]i[creto] d(ecurionum).'⁴—In lines 2 and 3 Domaszewski would read 'leg. IIII [Mac.? u]lc(e) leg(ati) Aug. Vesp(asiani)'.⁴ But 'Mac.' can hardly stand, both because the legio IV Macedonica was disbanded without delay by Vespasian, and because of the military decorations, which were surely for the Jewish war. There is room enough for the letters 'Scyt'

¹ Jos. *B.J.* vii 17. Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* p. 576 M, says 'κελευει (Petronium Gaius) της παρ' Εφόρτης στρατίας, ης διαβασεν τῶν ἑσων βασιδων καὶ ἐθνῶν παρφολλατε, την ημεραν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαϊσιν.' But this is a general description of the whole Syrian army and cannot be pressed to prove that a legion lay on the river so early as 40 A.D.

² Jos. *B.J.* v 43-4.

³ Plin. *N.H.* v 86; Dio Cassius 40, 17; 49, 19;

Tac. *Ann.* xii 12, xv 9 with Furneaux' note; Lucan viii 235-7; Statius *Silvae* iii 2, 136; Regling in *Klio* i p. 453. Cf. Mommsen, *Irons.* ii p. 93, p. 118 n. 1.

⁴ Domaszewski in *Rhein. Museum* 1893 p. 343 n. 2. Ritterling (apud Steiner in *Bonn. Jahrb.* 114, 1906 pp. 51 ff.) agrees in reading 'u]lc(e) leg(ati)' against Dessau who has 'leg. IIII [Scyth]ic, leg. Aug. Vesp. . . . ' which could hardly be right.

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after IIII. It need not surprise us that Firmus is not named by Josephus among the leaders at Titus' famous council of war, there mentioned, but not separately specified, since he was not a full legatus, and may have been counted among the *χiliάρχαι* there mentioned.¹

Even the absence of the legatus—to digress further for a moment—may be satisfactorily explained from contemporary history. The commander of the IV Scythica seems to have held some precedence, and to have been vice-gent of the consular governor of Syria. He acted in that capacity when the governor was absent during Hadrian's Jewish war; and even when an ex-quaestor was legatus in some emergency, probably under Trajan, the rule held good in his case also.² Now Josephus tells us that Gnaeus Collela, *πρεσβευτὴς τις*, distinguished himself by suppressing a riot at Antioch in 70 during the absence of the governor;³ and it may fairly be conjectured that he also was legatus of the legio IV Scythica, and had been left as deputy by Mucianus till a consular successor could be appointed. The 'praefectus castrorum' would according to rule be left in the camp at head-quarters; the location of which at Zeugma is further supported if the view stated above is correct. For Zeugma was in easy communication with Antioch, and more closely in touch with it than either of the other legionary depôts in Syria. It is not probable that there was a permanent camp at Antioch itself, though strong detachments must always have been within call. The XII Fulminata had been there in full force in 66, but evidently the occasion was only a general muster of the army for Judaea; its head-quarters were, as we have said, at Raphanea.⁴ In 265 A.D. a tribunus commanded the city garrison, which was therefore something less than a legion. In the sixth century there was no garrison at all.⁵

No trace has yet been discovered of the legion at Zeugma itself. But in the ancient quarries at Enesch, on the right bank of the Euphrates about twenty miles above Zeugma, there are several records of the IV Scythica, and none as yet discovered of any other legion.⁶ And hence would come the stone for frontier works farther down the stream, for the current above Zeugma is considerable. Inscriptions elsewhere make it clear that the legion was permanently in the north of Syria. There are two records of detachments sent by it to work on the great rock channel at Seleuceia-Pieria. One of its men is traceable at Beroea, another at Samosata. And it fought in Trajan's Parthian war.

A permanent strengthening of the frontier was thus instituted probably by

¹ *Jos. B.J.* vi 237. May this Firmus be identified with Avillius Firmus, legatus pro praetore of Lycia later under Vespasian (*JGR* iii 521, 725)? Our inscription need not be later than 74/5; and Firmus' Eastern experience makes this further appointment probable. It would accord with a usual practice under the Flavians; and *JGR* iii 554 records another tribune of the same legion who a few years later also became legatus at Lycia. *CIL* iii 335 names yet another tribune of the legion who was 'adlectus inter praetorios' by Vespasian in his censorship, probably for

services in 69/70, and was afterwards legatus pro praetore of Asia.

² *JGR* iii 174-5. *Ephemeris Epigr.* v 696 with Mommsen's n. = Dessau 1055.

³ *Jos. B.J.* vii 58.

⁴ *Ib.* ii 500, cf. vii 18. Mommsen, *Prov.* ii p. 119 is misleading; so also Chapot op. c. p. 73 n. 1.

⁵ *JGA* iii 1023; Procopius *B.P.* i 17, 22.

⁶ *CIL* iii 14396 e. Cumont in *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique* Aug. 1907—this article I have not been able to see.

Corbulo; Nero's policy had begun to follow the same lines as on the Upper Euphrates. Here too the change was ratified and completed by Vespasian.

A new danger, indeed, had arisen. The Jews beyond the Euphrates were counted by millions, and their strength lay in northern Mesopotamia, where they were close to the Roman frontier. They were mainly descendants of the 'lost' ten tribes, settled there by their conquerors; but active propagandism directed from Jerusalem had also won multitudes of proselytes and leavened the whole population. The story of the correspondence between our Lord and Abgar, King of Edessa, and of the subsequent mission thither of Thaddaeus, one of the Seventy, may not be historical, though Eusebius believed it. But at least it illustrates the close connexion between Judaea and Mesopotamia.¹ Milton in 'Paradise Regained' (iii 381 ff.) makes Satan suggest these exiles as an instrument of empire:

'These if from servitude thou shalt restore
To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond,
Shalt reign, and Rome or Caesar not need fear.'

In actual history, Petronius the governor of Syria in 40 A.D. had thought it dangerous to provoke this community to hostility by armed interference at Jerusalem. The royal family of Adiabene on the Tigris, which included the great Jewish centre of Nisibis, became proselytes in Claudius' reign. In his speech to the Jews in 66, Agrippa told them that they could have no allies unless their hopes went beyond the Euphrates to their kinsmen in Adiabene. And such an alliance, even if possible, would be forbidden by Parthia as a breach of the treaty of peace. Yet some members of the royal house did lead a contingent to the war; when they were forced to surrender, Titus thought it necessary to take them to Rome as hostages.² There was thus good reason for precaution after the war, especially as many irreconcilables had fled from Roman rule across the river.³ The Parthian power even if friendly was too loosely knit to guarantee the conduct of all its vassals. The Jews of Mesopotamia did strike a blow at a very critical moment in the last years of Trajan.

With this new motive Vespasian could not wait events: he acted without delay. At his accession Commagene was still a dependent kingdom, and interrupted the direct Roman control of the frontier. Through it lay the communications between the legions of Syria and the new camps on the upper Euphrates, and its capital, Samosata, was a strong city which controlled a crossing of the river almost as important as that of Zeugma. Its immediate occupation was therefore necessary, despite the claims of its aged king, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the last representative of the House of Seleucus. On the pretext that there was a plot

¹ Euseb. *H.E.* i 13, ii 1; cf. the 'Doctrine of Addai' tr. from the Syriac, a late document in its present form. Also Schürer in Hastings' *B.D.* v p. 92.

² Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* pp. 576-8 M. *Jos. Ant.* 20, 17-53; *B.J.* ii 388-9 vi 356-7.

³ Theophylact v 7, 7.

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for rebellion and alliance with Parthia the country was suddenly invaded and annexed in 72.

The annexation almost implies that a legion was posted at Samosata forthwith. Ptolemy however is the earliest authority for this. Yet the only doubt which has been raised is due to a passage in Dio Cassius' epitomator, which states that Trajan, forty years later, *μέχρι Συμοσάτων προχωρήσας καὶ ἀμαχί αὐτὰ παραλαβὼν ἐς τὰ Σάταλα ἦλθε*.¹ It is argued that Samosata either had no garrison, or that Rome had suffered initial reverses and lost the town to the Parthians.

In support of this view Mommsen (*Provinces* ii p. 67 n. 1) and Pelham (*Outlines of Roman History* p. 507 n.) quote Fronto (p. 207 Naber): 'Praeter huiusmodi dedecora malis proeliis ita percussi fuerunt ut ad primum Parthorum conspectum terga uerterent. . . .' But this passage surely refers to the beginning of Verus' campaign, not Trajan's, as the whole context shows. The indiscipline and inefficiency described were due to Hadrian's too peaceful policy. Verus himself writes to Fronto (p. 132): 'Circa causas . . . belli diu commoraberis, et etiam ea quae nobis absentibus male gesta sunt. . . . Porro necessarium puto, quanto ante meum aduentum superiores Parthi fuerint, dilucere, ut quantum nos egerimus appareat.' Again, if Samosata had thus fallen, would Trajan have begun his campaign in Armenia? Also, Dio's word *παραλαβὼν* does not naturally mean 'having recovered' as Mommsen and Pelham would have it; *ἀναλαβὼν* would be required.

Fragmentary though the record is, it is incredible that it should thus refer to a town within the frontier, even if it had no garrison. The mention of Samosata has little point, since it lay near the beginning of Trajan's natural line of march if, as we may assume, he started from Antioch. It is as if one should say, 'He went from Liverpool to London via Crewe.' The context indicates rather a town in the Cappadocian sphere, and in Parthian territory. For the preceding section refers to Parthamasiris and the governor of Cappadocia; and the parallel account in the preceding chapter is introduced by the words *ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν*.

The emendation *μέχρις Ἀρσαμοσάτων* solves the difficulty. It was first proposed by Gutschmid, and is now approved by Boissevain in his new text of Dio, and by Cumont.² It is palaeographically probable and easy, for the substitution of the well-known name Samosata was almost certain to take place. And it fulfils the other requirements. For Arsamosata was just beyond the border of Roman Sophene, which belonged to Cappadocia, and to visit it Trajan had to leave his direct route by the Euphrates; hence its special mention, and *παραλαβὼν* is quite in point. So Samosata may have had its legion for anything that Dio says to the contrary.

Another difficulty might be raised on account of the privileges granted to Samosata. The titles 'Sacred,' 'Inviolable,' 'Self-governing' may not connote anything very substantial, but they would hardly be granted in the first century to a garrison town. Since, however, they are absent from the first imperial

¹ Dio Cassius 68, 19, 2.

² Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans*. p. 141; Boissevain's

Dio iii p. 207; Cumont, *Bull. de la Cl. des Lettres de l'Ac. Roy. de Belgique* 1905 p. 219.

coinage of the town under Hadrian, and appear only from Pius' reign, we may assume that they did not come from Vespasian.

Which then was the legion? One MS of Ptolemy vouches for the XVI Flavia Firma, which was certainly there in later days.¹ But there is no evidence to connect it with Syria so early: it must rather, as we have seen, be assigned to Satala. The Antonine Itinerary² also records a legion at Samosata, but the number is corrupt. Yet though there are five variants, no copy reads XVI; perhaps therefore the reference is to the earlier period of the occupation. The readings VII and XII are impossible; III, IIII, and VI have to be considered. The III Gallica was probably in Commagene in 73, in whole or in part,³ when there was much extra work to be done; but as we shall see its depôt was in the south. The IV Scythica has indeed left one inscription at Samosata, but its headquarters were rather at Zeugma. The VI Ferrata was probably the first garrison of Samosata.

There is no evidence to show that this legion lay near Apamea later than 19 A.D. It has left one inscription at Raphanea, but this belongs rather to the earlier time before 70, and does not prove that it lay there in full force.⁴ The XII Fulminata was there before the Jewish war, and there was hardly a double camp. It is not likely that Vespasian would post only one legion out of three on the frontier. It is not recorded by what route the VI Ferrata returned from Italy in 70; but whether by land or sea, it may well have come to Antioch, where its presence would be very desirable in the interval before the Commagenian war; for the city was restless. To be employed as it was in a surprise march it must have lain at least in some northern camp. And naturally, having taken the lead in the conquest of Commagene, it was entrusted with the task of securing its permanence. No other legion is mentioned in Josephus' narrative. Shortly before this time it had received many recruits from Numidia,⁵ and it was therefore specially qualified for the Parthian frontier. It took part in Trajan's Parthian war. And it was only upon its transfer to Judaea,⁶ probably at the end of Trajan's

¹ Ptol. v 14 8 (Müller p. 967).

² Wesseling, *It. Ant.* p. 186 prints 'vii' but quotes with approval 2 MSS with 'iv' in his notes. Müller on Ptol. p. 967 b vouches for xii, vi, and iii.

³ *L'Année Epigraphique* 1903, 255, 256 (after Claprot).

⁴ *CH. iii* 14165¹²; cf. however Dussaud in *Rev. Archéologique* 1897 i p. 318, who thinks that the legion did lie at Raphanea in full force, at some time.

⁵ *Il.* 1896, 10. Memorialis there referred to was later a prov. Corsicae under Vespasian.

⁶ See *Class. Quarterly* ii pp. 110-3. Lack of library facilities prevented me from discovering in time that the identification of 'Capare.' in the inscr. there discussed (*CH. iii* 6814-6) with Caparcotia in Palestine had been already proposed by Ritterling in *Rhein. Mus.* 58, pp. 633-5. My main conclusion is thus confirmed, but it can claim the merit only of independence, not of priority. On two points I should be inclined to differ from Ritterling: (1) He

dates the new camp at Caparcotia from Hadrian's Jewish war, following von Rohden; (2) He identifies Caparcotia with Lejjun, supposing the former to have been the native and official name which afterwards disappeared before the popular 'Legio,' as 'Beth-horum' in Moab did also. This gets rid of a difficulty, it is true, though the Legio III Augusta in Africa would be a parallel for successive changes of camp in a comparatively short time. But (1) the native name of Lejjun was surely Megiddo, a name so famous that it could not have been displaced by Caparcotia; it is still used by Eusebius; while the name Caparcotia did not entirely disappear, as Müller's ref. on Ptol. ad loc. show—it had a parallel existence. And (2) the distances recorded by the Tabula Peutingeriana from Caesarea to Caparcotia and from Caparcotia to Scythopolis are more nearly correct for Kefr-kut than for Lejjun; and the route by Kefr-kut is the more direct. Hence it is better to follow the ordinary view and to suppose a change of camp.

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¹ Plat. *Ant.*
² Jos. *B.J.*

reign, that the XVI Flavia came to Samosata and the XV Apollinaris took up the vacant camp at Satala.

The third Syrian legion, the III Gallica, had belonged to the province even in Antony's time,¹ but its camp cannot be fixed for a century afterwards. It was in all probability stationed at Raphanea upon its return from Italy by sea early in 70. The XII Fulminata had previously lain there, but it was then absent in Judaea, and was soon to be sent to Melitene; the III Gallica took over the vacant camp. For it is placed there by Ptolemy, and we may fairly assume that the occupation had been continuous. No other site can be proposed in opposition. The inscriptions of the legion are very plentiful, for Syria, in all the southern districts of the province and rare in the northern. Titus probably visited Raphanea on his northward progress in the autumn of 70; and the possibility that he reviewed the legion there is somewhat strengthened by the fact that one of its tribunes then or soon afterwards became his quaestor.² The younger Pliny was one of its tribunes in the early years of Domitian; he tells us that he was then intimate with Euphrates the philosopher, who was closely connected with Epiphaneia, only twenty miles distant from Raphanea; even if he was then lecturing at Tyre there is still an argument for a southern camp.³ The XII Fulminata having been sent north in disgrace, the III Gallica, recruited mainly from Syria,⁴ and perhaps the senior legion of the garrison, was rewarded for its devotion to Mucianus and the new dynasty by receiving the easiest conditions of service among all the legions of the empire.

Thus the net result of the reorganisation of the eastern legions in 70 was that two legions, XII Fulminata and XVI Flavia Firma, were posted on the upper Euphrates where none had been before, at Melitene and Satala; the Syrian legions were reduced from four to three, and of the three, two, the IV Scythica and VI Ferrata, were posted on the frontier at Zeugma and Samosata, only the III Gallica being left in the interior, at Raphanea. The X Fretensis was transferred to Jerusalem; and when about 117 the VI Ferrata went to Caparcotia, on the southern borders of Galilee, the XVI Flavia took its place, being itself succeeded by the XV Apollinaris from Pannonia. Thus the strength of the frontier garrisons remained unaltered.

When Septimius Severus finally annexed Mesopotamia and occupied it with two of the legiones Parthicae, the inner line of defence constituted by the camps at Zeugma and Samosata became superfluous. It was probably therefore about this time that the IV Scythica and the XVI Flavia were transferred southward, the former to Oresa, forty miles from Palmyra on the road to the Euphrates, the latter to Sura, where the road reaches the river. These are the positions recorded by the *Notitia* about 400 A.D., by which time the III Gallica also had been moved nearer to the desert, from Raphanea to Danaba.

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¹ Plut. *Ant.* 42.

² Jos. *B. J.* vii 97; *CIL* vi 1348 = Dessau 1003.

³ Plin. *Ep.* i 10 with Merrill's n. Cf. Prosopographia.

⁴ As may be inferred from Tac. *H.* iii 2.

MANILIAN VARIETIES.

I. MANILIVS AND VITEZIUS.

SINCE P. Thielscher, in *Philologus*, 1907, pp. 117, 128, supplies us with information about the Manilian MS. Palatinus 1711 (P), the importance of which he himself does not seem to comprehend, I should like to point out what an interesting MS. this is. 'It is to be suspected,' says Thielscher, 'that it offers interpolated readings.' It is not a matter of 'suspicion' at all. If Thielscher did not know it for himself, he could have learnt from Scaliger (1600), from Bentley, from Jacob, that the readings of P long ago received sufficient publicity to enable scholars to assign it to the 'interpolated' class of MSS. The *Variae Lectiones* of Junius (1589) is mostly occupied with the readings of P, and tells us all about P that we need know, save what Thielscher has himself added. From Thielscher we for the first time learn that P belonged to 'Johannes Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis,' and that it contains this subscription: 'legi et emendaui cum magistro Galeotto 1469.' Now just as Thielscher seems to know nothing of Junius, so he seems to have no idea who Johannes Strigoniensis is, though the reference to Galeotto and the year 1469 should at once have told him. If he had troubled to look at Schmitth's *Archiepiscopi* he would have found that, while Schmitth enumerates no less than six archbishops of Gran who bore the name John, yet the only one of them who fits the date 1469 is John IV. And John IV. is a famous person, being none other than that leader of the Hungarian Renaissance whom we commonly call Vitezius.

P thus carries us at once to the court of Matthias 'the Great,' and it takes us there at a moment of great literary interest. Matthias was founding the famous Ofen library. Vitezius was collecting in his own palace at Gran a library which rivalled in magnificence that of Ofen. Galeotto Marzio (the 'magister Galeottus' of the subscription to P) had been brought to Hungary at the instance of Janus Pannonius and made librarian of the Ofen collection. About the same time the fame of this library had attracted to the service of Matthias the foremost astronomer of his day and the first editor of Manilius—Johannes Mueller of Königsberg, i.e. Regiomontanus. Matthias, Galeotto, Vitezius were all keen astrologers. Of Vitezius indeed Schmitth says, 'astrologiae ad insaniam deditum fuisse accusant censores' (p. 272). Vitezius, whom the stars would seem to have made ambitious of a greater destiny in

politics than the unhappiness to which they in fact conducted him, died in 1471. In the same year Regiomontanus departed to Nuremberg. In 1474 Janus Pannonius died: and to that year probably is to be assigned Regiomontanus' edition of Manilius.

That edition is certainly not a transcript of P. It stands nearer to the Parisinus¹ than to P; and the edition the text of which most resembles P is the Romana prior of 1484. But the importance of P is that it seems to reveal to us the provenance of what we call the 'mixed' family of Manilian MSS.: and all the early editions derive from these 'mixed' MSS. The *mixed* family is a *Hungarian* family. The Belgian (GL) and Italian (M) families first meet and mingle in Ofen. The libraries of Ofen and Gran were destroyed almost as soon as they were made. Most of their books perished utterly. But of a good many of them we know that they are closely related to some of the Urbino books. Two Urbino MSS. of Manilius exist and have been examined. They are not, like P, 'mixed' MSS., but belong to the pure Italian family, and so connect with the literary circles of Florence. Now Matthias' library was very largely collected in the same circles: one volume is actually known to have come from the Florentine bookseller Vespasiano. Janus Pannonius, again, was intimately connected with the Poggian school. He was a pupil for many years of Guarino, and a close friend and fellow student of Francesco Barbaro: he was well known also to both Poggio and Cosmo de Medici. It is likely therefore that the astronomer-scholars of the Hungarian court brought from Italy to Ofen good copies of M. But whence comes the Belgian tradition which has affected P?

Regiomontanus was the pupil of another astronomer who was also an enthusiastic student of the Roman poets—Purbach. One of the most powerful of Purbach's patrons was the great Cardinal Cusa. Purbach for some time lived in his house. Now it happens that at Cusa (from which this Cardinal takes his name, and where he lies buried) there was at one time a twelfth century MS. of Manilius, the Brussels codex, 10699 Cusanus, (C), which represents the distinctively Belgian tradition. It is, I think, quite probable that, through the connection of Purbach and Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa, the Cusanus, or a copy of it, passed for a while into the hands of Regiomontanus and the Hungarian school: and either at Ofen or Gran, conjoined with some copy of M, gave birth to the whole of the 'mixed' family of MSS. Cusanus was certainly a MS. that travelled, for the Venetian MS. Marcianus xii. 69 is a direct copy of it made in Basle.

¹Or again to the Bodleian and Corpus MSS. to which Parisinus is closely related.

II. MANILIVS AND SYLVESTER II.

Lettres de Gerbert (Havet), 130, pp. 117-118.

'Age ergo et te solo conscio ex tuis sumptibus fac ut mihi scribantur M. Manlius¹ de astrologia, Victorius de rhetorica, Demosthenes ophthalmicus.'

That the M. Manlius of this much discussed letter should ever have been identified with M. Manilius, the author of the *Astronomica*, is rather discreditable to Manilian scholars. For it is possible to adduce, and anyone who has studied the life of Gerbert ought long ago to have adduced, a passage from an author closely related to Gerbert which settles the question once and for all. The author to whom I refer is the chronicler Richer, who was actually a pupil of Gerbert's, and has left an account of that great man's teaching. The passage is *Hist.* iii. 46, ed. Waitz, 1877:

'In primis enim Porphyrii isagogas, id est introductiones, secundum Victorini rhetoris translationem, inde easdem secundum Manilium, explanavit . . . Inde etiam Topica, id est argumentorum sedes, a Tullio de Graeco in Latinum translata, et a Manlio consule sex commentariorum libris dilucidata, suis auditoribus intimaui.'

There is no shadow of doubt that by 'Manlius' here is meant Boetius: and if Richer can so speak of him, why is it so impossible, as Ellis holds,² that Gerbert should do so? Richer is describing Gerbert's lectures, and he says Manlius because he had times out of number in those lectures heard Boetius referred to under that name. Moreover Boetius in this passage is conjoined with precisely that author, the rhetorician Gaius Victorinus, with whom Gerbert in the letter cited above conjoins M. Manlius (for Victorinus there is clearly a blunder for Victorinus: Victorinus stands in the first editions).

This enables me to dispose of one of several absurdities collected together under the name of Manilius in Manitius' *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekscatalogen*, p. 36. Manitius refers to Manilius the entry in the 14th century Sorbonne Catalogue N. LIII. 9, 'Sex libri commentarii annui Manilii.' A child would have corrected *annui* to *Anicii*. But 'ohne Zweifel ist das Werk des Manilius gemeint' says Manitius: and he goes on to conjecture that Manilius wrote *six* books of *Astronomica*,—though why these should be called 'Commentarii' he does not say. The 'sex commentarii' of Boetius, used as we have seen in Gerbert's lectures, were so much employed in the Middle Ages that these blunders of Manitius are hard to understand. But I remark in the same place two other examples of the same kind of stupidity. The 13th century Canterbury catalogue speaks of a MS. of 'Marcius de Astrologia.' As soon as I saw this entry in Manitius referred to Manilius, I perceived that 'Marcius' was just a blunder for Marciaüs = Martianus: and turning to Dr. James' valuable edition of the Catalogue I find that he has already so corrected the blunder.

¹ The form 'Manlius' alone has MS. attestation. 'Manilius' comes from the 17th century editions, and was no doubt a deliberate attempt to identify

the 'De Astrologia' with M. Manlii *Astronomica*.

² *Noctes Manilianae*, p. 229.

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Martianus Capella is of course meant—few mediaeval libraries were without copies of him. For the omission of 'Capella' compare the same catalogue, James, p. 321.¹ For 'De Astrologia,' very commonly used as a designation of book viii, see Eyssenhardt's edition, p. xxviii. Once more, the 11th century Toul Catalogue has an entry B. 68. 210 'cuiusdam de Astronomia cum peryesi Prisciani et Girberto de astrolapsu uol. i.' Manilius admits that cuiusdam may mean Hyginus: but he puts the entry under Manilius and not under Hyginus: and I notice that Thielscher (*Philologus*, 1907, p. 122) thinks that Manilius is meant. Much more likely the reference is to some one of the numberless anonymous astronomical works which were to be found in all libraries: see the Canterbury Catalogue again, James, pp. 321-332: and for 'Girberto de astrolapsu' cf. *ibid.* p. 322 'tractatus Geberi (*lege* Gerberti) de motibus caelestibus.' (The forms *Girbertus* and *Gerbertus* are equally well attested.)

The name of Manilius, then, the author of the *Astronomica*, does not occur until the Renaissance. But it appears that 'Manilius' was in the middle ages a not uncommon designation of Boetius. Gerbert employs it once, his pupil Richer twice, the old Paris catalogue once.

III. THE HOLKHAM MS. OF MANILIVS (HOLKHAM 331).

I will call this MS. H. It is a well written 15th century vellum MS. in 'lettera antica.' It consists of 150 (unnumbered) foll., containing 29 lines to each page. (The lemmata are, with one or two exceptions, given in the text.) Foll. 1-55 are occupied by Hyginus, 56-76^v by Serenus' *Liber Medicinalis*: 76^v is left blank: 77^r to the end is filled by Manilius. At the foot of fol. i are the arms of a previous owner: a blue shield surrounded by green laurel: on the right of the shield a gold lion's head, on the left a mound topped by a gold cross (15th century). Under the arms is written in a seventeenth century hand the name of Diego de Colmenares. I take this to be the Spanish historian of that name who died in 1651. The MS., however, would seem to have been written in Italy: and the fact that it is very closely related to M must be dissociated from the fact that both connect with Spain. We have no evidence that M was in Spain before the 18th century. The name of the Count of Miranda, to whom it once belonged, is written—so M. Paz y Melia kindly informs me—in an 18th century hand: and the binding of the volume Mr. Souter holds, I gather, to be Italian of saec. xvii.

Book i of Manilius in H has the titulus: 'M. Manilij Astronomicon Liber | Primus Incipit' (capitals): and in the tituli to the other books the poet's name is given in the same form. The additional name Boenus or Boetius is nowhere found: nor the blunder 'Milnili.' This is significant owing to the fact that 'Boeni' is found in MRUV, 'Milnili' in MRU, and H is most obviously

¹ Martianus without Capella occurs also in Gerbert, *Epp.* 153, p. 135, Havet.

a brother or cousin of MRUV. That the titulus to book i stood in the Poggian exemplar as it stands in MHRUV is, I think, certain from the fact that in the well-known letter of Poggio to Francesco Barbaro, the MS. reading is 'M. Manilium Astromicon' (*sic*) and *not*, as reported by Mr. Clark and others, 'M. Manilium Astronomicum.' ('Manilium' is obviously a blunder for 'Manili': the Bodleian MS. which contains this letter is full of similar blunders.)¹ The titulus to M, I may notice in passing, is in a 17th century hand (Mr. F. Madan, to whom I showed a photograph of it, had no doubt of this: and I now find that Loewe—Breiter, Manilius i. p. 5—says the same). In the titulus to iv. in H, 'Liber Quintus' has been written for 'Liber Quartus,' and in that to v. the inverse error occurs: in both cases a late hand has rectified the mistake. I mention this in case it should throw light on the cognation of H.

I can find in H only two readings, absent from GLM, which are certainly true. These are 1. 350 *Andromedam*, 4. 17 *orta*. H transposes 4. 666-667, and this transposition, already made conjecturally by Jacob, is perhaps right. H also transposes 4. 641-642, and places 5. 363-4 after 374. It has the following omissions peculiar to itself: 1. 809-810 (Breiter), 813 *natalibus*—814 *rapti*, 3. 370, 4. 494, 829-832, 5. 94 *terris*—96 *Iouem*. In addition it offers all the lacunae found in M.² It contains a certain number of bad conjectures. Examples are 1. 431 *esurcionem* M: *dubitauit* GL: *extrudere* H: 1. 737 *propius*] *populus* H: 2. 8. *cuiusque* GL: *tunisque* M: *rivusque* H: 2. 22. *adultera*] *et dulcia* H. Of some of its readings it is difficult to say whether they arise from stupidity or mere unscrupulousness, e.g. 2. 41-2 *per quod horrida mater Quia serit dulcis*.

That H is a direct copy of M I am prepared neither to deny nor to affirm. That R and U are copied direct from M seems not unlikely. On the other hand V is certainly *not* so copied: it is copied (though no one seems to have pointed this out) from a MS. containing 26 lines to the page—this appears from 5. 52, 488-503.

I am not, again, concerned to affirm that H is derived from M at all. I am only concerned to note that, save for the three places noticed above, it contains no true readings which are not already found in M. I say this after examining it with care throughout, and having collated it rather minutely for

¹ I take this opportunity of saying that it is a MS. which no editor of the epistolary literature of the Italian Renaissance can afford to neglect. Let me give one convincing proof of this. Poggii, *Epp.* i. 1. Tonellis ends thus in Bodl.: *salutato: simul et Cosmam* (*sic*) *saluere dicito et sibille tritee*. Ex Balneis: *xvi*. Kil *Junijs* (*sic*). Here, apart from minor variants, the allusion to the 'Tritean Sibyl' is quite new, and *Junijs* confirms a conjecture of Tonellis.

At p. 3, l. 18, ed. Tonell., Bodl. has *Raiserthuos*, pointing clearly to *Kaiserstuhl*.

Another Bodleian MS. of 14th century Italian letters which perhaps deserves attention is Can. Misc. 351. It contains Guarino's letter to Poggio on the relative greatness of Caesar and Scipio—a

letter which has, so far as I know, never been published. Voigt, who mentions it, imagines that it contained considerable abuse of Poggio. As a matter of fact, its tone of studied politeness is its most noteworthy feature. (A fragment of a sentence of it is quoted by H. Blass in his paper on the MSS. of Silius, and repeated from Blass in the *Testimonia* of Schwabe's Catullus. But I cannot find that anyone has printed the whole letter.)

² It contains 5. 17, which does not appear in Breiter at all; but from the silence of all editors I infer that this line is found in GLM.

H, it should be added, constantly leaves blank spaces for words which puzzled its scribe. Examples are too numerous to notice.

nearly four books. That it is independent of RUV, and they of it, follows from the omissions peculiar to each. (For the omissions in RUV see Housman, *Classical Quarterly*, i. 4, p. 297.)

There is at Caesena a still unexamined MS. of Manilius (saec. xv.), which belongs, I conjecture, to the same family as HRU. I was first led to examine H by observing that it contained, as do RU, Serenus as well as Manilius. And the same is true of the Caesena MS. That V, which belongs to the MHRU family, does not contain Serenus may be due to the fact that down to ii. 683 it follows the Belgian (GL) recension—as was pointed out by Ellis when he first called attention to M. (Housman assigns the merit of this important observation to Breiter.)

H was sent to the Bodleian Library for my use by the courtesy of Lord Coke, to whom, and to his Librarian, Mr. A. S. Napier, I express my best thanks. My collation, which does not, I think, deserve printing, is at the service of anyone who cares to see it. H perhaps merits being quoted for i. 1-82 (along with RU) but where we have M I do not think its testimony of much value.

H. W. GARROD.

THE BRONZE TRUMPETER AT SPARTA AND THE EARTHQUAKE OF 464 B.C.

AMONG the objects discovered in the excavation of the temple of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta is a small bronze figure of a trumpeter (illustrated in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xiii p. 146). Mr. Dickins, who says that the figure 'can be dated without hesitation in the middle of the fifth century,' regards 'the presence of a trumpeter as a dedication in Sparta as perplexing, because the Spartans marched to battle to the sound of flutes, and made no use of trumpets for martial music.' This is, I think, the view generally held. The purpose of this paper is to suggest a possible reason for the dedication of the trumpete at the date, which the style of the work suggests.

While there is ample authority for the martial use of flutes by the Spartans, there is no evidence of any value that flutes were used to give signals. The probabilities are against such a theory, and there is evidence that the Spartans, like the rest of the Greeks, did give signals by the trumpet.

The passages relating to the Spartan use of flutes (some are cited by Mr. Dickins, l.c.; others are to be found in Müller's *Dorians* (English Translation, ii pp. 346-7) require examination.

The earliest reference, which I can trace, is in Thucydides (v 70), who, in his description of the advance before the battle of Mantinea, describes the Lacedaemonians as moving 'slowly to the music of many flute players, that they might march evenly in time (*μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ*) and their ranks might not be broken.' In this passage, which is apparently the source of many later statements, Thucydides refers to the flutes accompanying the march. He does not say that signals were given by the flute, and he uses *σημαίνειν* and *παραγγέλλειν* to describe the orders given by Agis at the moment of engagement. Xenophon *de rep. Lac.* (13. 7, 8) describes the flute players as being at the head of the army, and says that before the battle it was the custom for all the flute players to play their flutes: but he uses *παραγορεύειν* and *παρακελεύειν* of the orders passed along the ranks.

Of later writers some refer definitely to the marching tunes or times (*ἐμβατήριοι ῥυθμοί*) being given by the flute (Plutarch *Lyc.* 21; *Inst. Lac.* p. 238 b: *de musica* p. 1140 e: cf. Pollux iv 78: Polyaeus i 10: Val. Max. ii 6. 2): others in vaguer terms talk of 'marching, starting or making war *πρὸς αὐλὸν* or

μετ' αὐλὸν' (Cicero p. 379: Cicero of music associated with Δακεδαίμονιοι that the flute is not of music).

There are contrasted with Polybius in flute in the Plutarch, in monians as against the time) still as an accompaniment nothing in any more the for the purpose.

There are signals. Thucydides Mantinea, is worthless.

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μετ' αὐλῶν' (Aristotle in Aul. Gell. i 11; Athenaeus xii 517 a; Dio Chrysost. xxxii p. 379; Cic. *Tusc.* ii 16. 37). Lucian *de salt.* 10 in discussing the importance of music associates the flute with time in marching, and adds τὸ πρῶτον σύνθημα Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τὴν μάχην ὁ αὐλὸς ἐνδίδωσι. It is doubtful whether he meant that the flute was used to give a definite signal; even if he did, his authority is not of much weight.

There are passages in which the use of the flute by the Spartans is contrasted with the use of the trumpet elsewhere. Thus Ephorus (quoted by Polybius iv 20. 6) says that the Cretans and Lacedaemonians introduced the flute in the place of the trumpet, but he also is referring to time in marching. Plutarch, in a passage already cited (*de musica* p. 1140), describes the Lacedaemonians as playing the flute to accompany τὸ Καστόρειον μέλος, when advancing against the foe, just as the Cretans used the lyre, and others (in Plutarch's time) still used trumpets. We may assume that trumpets were sometimes used as an accompaniment to the march (as perhaps in Thuc. vi 69), and there is nothing in these passages to imply that the flute was intended to give signals, any more than the lyre of the Cretans. Either instrument would be unsuitable for the purpose.

There is, however, one definite statement that the flute was used to give signals. This is in Aulus Gellius (i 11), but as he attributes this statement to Thucydides, from whom he quotes the passages relating to the battle of Mantinea, it is obvious that he has made a gross blunder and his evidence is worthless.

I proceed to consider how signals were given by the Spartans. Thucydides in his account of the same battle describes the elaborate gradation of officers, by whom the commands were passed along the ranks (*παραγγέλλειν* v 66: cf. Xen. *de rep. Lac.* 11). While this method might be perfectly suitable for a change of tactical arrangement, it might not be easy in this way to give an immediate signal to the whole of an army, or to a division at some distance from the general.

The regular method of signalling in Greek warfare was by the trumpet (*σαλπίζειν, σημαίνειν τῇ σάλπιγγι*; in some cases at least, *σημαίνειν* used absolutely has the same meaning). Pollux (iv 86) gives four different trumpet signals and Xenophon's *Anabasis* shows a frequent use of the trumpet for conveying a variety of signals. We should, unless there were positive evidence against such a theory, assume that the Spartans would not deny themselves the use of the customary signal, especially as their armies often included a large proportion of allies, who would presumably be accustomed to the trumpet.

It is possible that *σημαίνειν*, which often implies signal by trumpet, may bear this meaning in some cases, where it is used of the Lacedaemonians, but there are two pieces of positive evidence for the Lacedaemonian use of the trumpet. In Xenophon (*Hell.* v 1. 9) the Lacedaemonian admiral orders a night attack at sea by the trumpet, and Plutarch (*Cimon* 16: cf. Polyaeus i 41. 3)

THE BRONZE TRUMPETER AT SPARTA

relates how, on an occasion to be further discussed, Archidamus ordered the trumpet to sound the alarm *ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων*.

On the examination of the evidence I think the conclusion is justified that the Spartans did not give signals by the flute, and that there is no reason why, on occasion, they should not have used the same signal as the other Greeks, while there are two instances in which their use of the trumpet is recorded. We need not therefore regard the dedication of a trumpeter as perplexing.

I venture further to suggest an occasion and a reason for the dedication of the actual figure, which, as we have seen, is attributed to the middle of the fifth century. In the passage just cited from the life of Cimon, Plutarch is describing the confusion caused by the earthquake at Sparta in 464 B.C.¹

He says 'Archidamus quickly perceived the danger threatened, and, seeing that the citizens were trying to save their valuables from their houses, he gave orders for the trumpet to signal the attack of the enemy, that the Spartans might rally to his side under arms. And this was the very thing, which, at that crisis, alone saved Sparta. For the Helots had run together in all directions from the country, thinking to make a prey of those Spartans who had escaped. But finding them under arms, in ordered ranks, they retreated to the towns and openly made war.'

If, then, Sparta was delivered from her enemies and the Spartan warriors escaped destruction by the timely act of Archidamus, in which a trumpeter gave the signal; if within a few years a bronze trumpeter was dedicated at the temple of Athena, the guardian of the city, it is a possible, if not a probable, conclusion that the dedication was itself a commemoration of this event, and that the bronze figure represents the pious offering of Archidamus.

LEONARD WHIBLEY.

¹The effects of the earthquake (which is briefly discussed by Thucydides) are described by Plutarch (l.c.), Diodorus xi 63, Pausanias iv 24. 6. Although probably exaggerated by these writers the losses must have been very serious. Diodorus, no doubt following Ephorus who had a taste for large figures, talks of

more than 20,000 Lacedaemonians being killed. Plutarch and others say that all but five houses in the city were overthrown. The overthrow of buildings may explain the destruction of some of the earlier temples at Sparta.

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SINCERVS AND LVCRETIVS III 717.

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corpore in exanimo? quod si lincuntur et insunt,
haut erit ut merito immortalis possit haberi,
partibus amissis quoniam libata recessit;
sin ita sinceris membris ablata profugit
ut nullas partis in corpore liquerit ex se,
unde cadauera rancenti iam uiscere uermes
expirant, atque unde animantum copia tanta
exos et exanguis tumidos perfluctuat * artus?

715

720

* Or *per fluctuat*.

When a man has breathed his last, do particles of the soul remain in the body or do they not? If they do, the soul, thus impaired by loss, cannot fairly be deemed immortal; if they do not, whence come the living creatures which are bred in carcasses?

How Lambinus understood the words of 717 is perhaps not quite clear from his paraphrase 'si anima e corpore ita sincera et integra excessit ut nullam sui partem in eo reliquerit'; but Fayus renders *sinceris membris* by 'cum integris partibus suis,' Wakefield similarly says 'per *membris* utique intelligere debemus partes animae, non corporis; . . . *sinceris* scilicet est *indelibatis*,' Munro in his first edition followed them and translated 'if when taken away it has fled forth with its members so entire that it has left in the body no parts of itself,' and Giussani again has 'con tutte le sue membra' and explains that *sinceris membris* 'è il contrapposto di *partibus amissis* 716.' To this interpretation Mr Heinze justly objects that Lucretius nowhere else endows the soul with *membra*, and that *membris* and *ablata* should naturally bear the same relation to one another here as in 439 'animam . . . dissolui . . . cum semel ex hominis membris ablata recessit.' There is a further objection, much more decisive, which he does not see; but of that anon.

Munro in his later editions adopted the suggestion of Paley, that *sinceris membris* meant 'from the yet untainted body' in contrast to the *rancenti iam uiscere* of 719. The epithet is capable of that meaning, but this detail, as Mr Heinze remarks, is nothing to the purpose: it goes without saying that the body is not putrid at the moment of death, and to mention that circumstance in the midst of the present argument is not only superfluous but distracting.

The conjecture '*sincera ex membris*,' first proposed by Tanaquillus Faber and then again by Bentley in his young days, is accepted by Mr Heinze, who says that *sincera* means the same as the *incolumis* of 608 '*ire foras animam incolumem de corpore toto*' and 696 '*exire . . . incolumes posse et saluas exsoluere sese | omnibus e neruis atque ossibus articulisque*': '*sincera* steht im Gegensatz zu *libata* (716), wie *ita ut nullas partis liquerit zu partibus amissis*.'

If the Latin words *sincera profugit* really possessed the meaning thus assigned to them, '*has fled away whole and undiminished*,' all would now be well. But they do not: they possess a very different and quite inappropriate meaning. *sincerus* never signifies *incolumis*, *illibatus*, ὁλόκληρος: it signifies *merus*, *purus*, εἰλικρινής. A thing is *incolume* or *illibatum* when none of its own substance has been taken away from it: it is *sincerum* when no foreign substance has been added to it. The true sense of *sincera profugit* is therefore '*sic profugit ut nullas corporis partis secum abstulerit*'; and what could be less relevant than that? The same consideration is fatal also to the rendering of Wakefield and Giussani: *sinceris membris* cannot mean *indelibatis* and cannot be '*il contrapposto di partibus amissis*.'

The proper meaning of *sincerus* is so well known and so indisputable that it seems hard to explain how so many scholars should have made this mistake. But it has a double cause in the existence of the Latin adjective *integer* (which both Fayus and Lambinus employ in their paraphrases) and the propensity of mankind to the fallacy of the undistributed middle. '*sincerus* means *integer*, *incolumis* means *integer*, therefore *sincerus* means *incolumis*': so runs the syllogism. The truth is that the vaguer *integer*, 'whole', 'uninjured', embraces the meanings of the more precise *sincerus*, 'not injured by addition,' and *incolumis*, 'not injured by subtraction,' and can be used instead of either. Moreover the proper and primary senses of *sincerus* and *incolumis* often recede into the background, and their common and secondary sense, 'uninjured,' becomes predominant; so much so, that occasions arise when it matters little which word is chosen. When Ovid in *met.* xii 99 sq. says of the invulnerable Cynus struck by the spear of Achilles '*sine uulnere corpus | sincerumque fuit*,' he might just as well have said *incolume*: both words mean 'scatheless'; the only difference is that *incolume* has rather the sense of *indestructum* (u. 92), and *sincerum* the sense of *imperfossus inque cruentatus* (uu. 491 sq.). So also in a passage which Mr Heinze quotes as parallel, *Lucr.* iii 531 sq. '*scinditur . . . animae . . . quoniam natura nec uno | tempore sincera existit, mortalis habenda est*,' *incolumis* might be substituted; the meaning is *integra* (Giussani) or 'entire' (Munro) as opposed to *dilaniata* (u. 539) or 'piecemeal.' But if the meaning were *integra* or 'entire' as opposed to *mutila* or 'incomplete,' then *incolumis* must have been used and *sincera* could not. Their proper and primary senses the two words never exchange; *incolumis* never means *purus* and *sincerus* never means *illibatus*.

By this time it must be clear that the sense which Faber wished to obtain

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was present all the while in the MS reading, and that his conjecture, instead of introducing it, expelled it. What he meant was '*illibata* profugit,' and that is what *sinceris membris* actually signifies. If the soul, when it quits the body, is *illibata*, i.e. carries all its particles with it, then the body, when quitted by the soul, is *sincerum*, rid of all foreign admixture. *sinceris membris* means *membris iam mere corporeis*, and the words 'ut nullas partis in corpore liquerit ex se' repeat and reinforce this notion with the same pleonasm which is seen in 716 'partibus amissis . . . libata' or i 343 'motu priuata carerent' or ii 541 sqq. 'quamlibet esto | unica res quaedam . . . sola | cui similis toto terrarum nulla sit orbi.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ON THE TEXT OF JUVENAL I. 115.¹

AMONGST the readings of the Parisian codex collated by Mr. Stuart (supra pp. 1-7) which he classes as interpolations is one whose singularity at once arrests attention. In the well-known passage, I. 113 sqq., where all known MSS. including P have

etsi, funesta Pecunia, templo
nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
ut colitur Pax *atque* Fides Victoria Virtus
quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido,

II presents *firma* instead of *atque*.

The reasoning which has induced Mr. Stuart, and no doubt will induce others after him, to regard *firma* as interpolated, may without unfairness be set out as follows. *atque* gives a perfectly satisfactory sense, and is attested by the all but universal consent of our MSS. *firma*, whether it be taken with *Pax* or with *Fides*, is open to grave objection; it is supported by but a single witness, and it cannot have come from *atque*, as an honest error should have come, by the route of mere clerical mistake. Such is the strong argument of the prosecuting counsel; but the advocate of the defendant must be allowed his turn, and he will point out, on the one hand, firstly, that an actually complete unanimity on the part of the MSS. of Juvenal by no means proves (as even the most conservative critics admit) that the lection which they support is genuine, and secondly, that though *we* may find it perfectly satisfactory, it does not follow that Juvenal would have done the same, nor that it is not one amongst two or more alternative expressions between which our knowledge does not allow us to discriminate.² On the other hand, he will require from the prosecution that it should complete its argument by suggesting a reasonable motive for the 'interpolation,' since interpolation without motive is not interpolation at all.

This last plea must be carefully examined. We will take the supposition that *Pax atque Fides* is the genuine tradition of Juvenal, and *firma* an intruder. How did it find its way in? It may be laid down that interpolation never arises unless some scribe or corrector has found the text unsatisfactory. What

¹ Read before the *Cambridge Philological Society* on October 22, 1908.

² Compare Housman on vii 139 sq. 'fidimus eloquio' PG, 'ut redeant veteres'. Ψ. "We cannot

be sure which Juvenal wrote; we cannot even be sure that he wrote either," *Juvenalis Satirae Praef.* p. xxv.

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ground for dissatisfaction is there in 'Pax atque Fides'? Ask any one out of the throng of editors and critics who have edited or commented on this line without misgiving, what medieval scribe or corrector would have found this *atque* unsatisfying? The supporters of a theory of interpolation must now retire on their second line and say that in some MS., from which II is derived, the word *atque* had been omitted or was illegible. This is of course assumption—the postulation of a fact to support a theory. If justified at all, the result must justify it. Can it? Let us see. A scribe or reader observed a trochee missing between two nouns *pax* and *fides*. How, think we, was he likely to have filled the gap? By a *firma*, got we do not know whence, or by a harmless, if not necessary, 'and'—an *atque* which he had had twice already in the last 50 lines (65, 67)?¹

At this point the prosecution would doubtless ask to amend the pleadings in order to suggest the possibility that *firma*, though not an 'interpolation proper, was a corruption, now declared to be unconscious, which was hardly distinguishable from such, and that it was due to the phrase *pax firma*, or the phrase *firma fides*, obsessing the copyist's brain and misguiding his hand. That MS. corruption is sometimes due to such unfortunate reminiscences is undoubted, but a cautious criticism does not assume them unless the evidence is clear.

The advocate of *firma* would now claim to apply to *atque* the same tests that had been applied to *firma*. And he would point out that, if '*firma*' stood before '*fides*' in the archetype of the MSS. of Juvenal, the scribe's eye might slip from the first *fi* to the second *fi*, thus producing a gap for which an *atque* was the natural and obvious supplement. Nor would he now repress the doubt whether this vulgate was, after all, so very Juvenalian, seeing that it runs counter to the Satirist's habit of asyndeton in enumeration and is an employment of *atque* to which no exact parallel can be furnished from any of his writings.² If then, as Mr. Stuart maintains, II is no negligible witness for the tradition of Juvenal, the credit of *atque* in our passage no longer stands where it did.

But though *atque* may be deposed, *firma*, it is clear, cannot reign in its stead. Neither as an epithet of *Pax* nor as an epithet of *Fides* is it tolerable, and its sole claim on our attention is that it points immediately to something which may well have come from Juvenal himself. It is, in fact, an easy corruption of *fama*.

Fama, like Ὀσσα and Φήμη, is a goddess in literature; Verg. *Aen.* 4. 173 sqq. (*dea* 195), Ovid, *Pont.* iv 4 (*dea* v. 20). There is evidence, moreover, that she was worshipped in the Roman, as Φήμη (Aeschin. *F.L.* 145 τῇ Φήμῃ θυόμεν ὡς θεῇ) and Εὐκλεία (Paus. i 14. 5 ναὸς Εὐκλείας) were in the Greek world. We have

¹ How easily an *and* occurs to a copyist who wants a quick relief for a passage in distress may be seen from more than one place in Tibullus i. 5. 28, 'pro segete spicas,' 'et spicas,' codd. (not knowing that Tibullus lengthens a vowel before *sp*); ii. 5. 95, 'operata,' 'operta' (A, the tradition), 'et operta' the Vatican MS. and probably i. 6. 46 'et

amans' codd. for 'amens,' already corrupted to 'amans.'

² Juvenal's practice may be seen from Sat. iii. 73 sq. 'ingenium uelox, audacia perdita, sermo | promptus et Isaeo torrentior,' 76 sq. 'grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes, | augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus, omnia nouit | Graeculus esuriens.'

inscriptions to FAMA (*Orelli* iii 5817) from Cologne and to FAMA AVGVSTA (*C.I.L.* ii 1435) from Spain (Baetica). That she, like *Honor* and the other canonised abstractions with whom Juvenal associates her, had one among the innumerable altars or temples of Rome, I cannot find from direct evidence elsewhere. And it might perhaps be thought that Juvenal's memory had played him false either as to the name of the divinity or as to the place of the worship. But this there is no necessity to assume. A contemporary of Juvenal, the Greek philosopher Plutarch, speaks more than once of a temple Φήμης καὶ Κληδόνας, which has been rightly identified with that of *Aius Locutius* (*Loquentius*), dedicated according to tradition by Camillus (Plutarch *de Fortuna Roman.* 5, *Camillus* 30). This has generally been assumed to be a blunder of Plutarch's; but it seems more reasonable to suppose that he is giving the current interpretation of the nature of an obscure divinity who, according to the tradition, conveyed to Rome the first intelligence of the Gaulish invasion (Livy 5. 32, Cic. *de div.* i ch. 45, ii ch. 32). If this was the popular view of that divinity's nature in Juvenal's time, is it going too far to say that we might expect Juvenal to adopt it?

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ For more on these cults see Roscher *Lexicon*, s.u. *Personifikationen* pp. 2135, 2139.

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COLASANTI'S *PINNA* AND GROSSI'S *AQVINVM*.

Biblioteca di Geografia Storica. Vol. ii. *Pinna*, by GIOVANNI COLASANTI; vol. iii. *Aquinum*, by ELISEO GROSSI. Loescher: Rome, 1907. 8vo. 2 vols. Pp. (viii), 125; (vi), 210. 1 plan; 2 maps and 7 illustrations in text. Price 5 lire; 8 lire.

THE first volume of the series of the 'library of historical geography, published under the direction of Professor Beloch,' that of Sig. Colasanti on Fregellae, has already been noticed in the *Classical Review*, 1907, 207. Two more have now appeared, and several others are announced.

The two works before us differ greatly in interest. In regard to the first it might easily be objected that there are other towns of far greater importance waiting their turn. Previous works on the subject are few, and the material is indeed scanty.

After an introductory survey of the district (Pinna was situated E. of the Gran Sasso d'Italia, on the hills which descend from the Apennines to the Adriatic, 1437 ft. above sea level), a lengthy discussion as to the determination of the site of Pinna follows, the conclusion of which is, that the itineraries do not help to fix it, that classical writers hardly mention it, and that the similarity of names is the chief (but sufficient) argument for fixing it at the modern Penne. Of ancient remains, however, nothing is visible, and even the city walls are entirely mediaeval. The ancient city seems to have occupied only the site of the mediaeval town, and not the extension to the north, crowned by the castle—still less the hill on the S. as local writers have pretended—though even this can only be determined by a study of the mediaeval topography, inasmuch as the discoveries, if carefully sifted, amount to a single tomb of the Roman period found outside one of the gates in 1829, no finds from the town being recorded in the *Notizie degli Scavi*.

Of the history of Pinna, which we finally reach on p. 91, a little more is known. At first, however, it is not distinct from that of the Vestini, who became allies of Rome in 301 B.C., and remained faithful during the Hannibalic wars. In the Social wars Pinna is for the first time mentioned: it remained faithful to Rome while the rest of the Vestini rebelled, and stood a severe siege from the allies. After this, at latest, it received its municipal organization. We hear almost nothing of it afterwards, except for Vitruvius' mention of a nitrous spring called the *aqua Ventina*, as we learn from an inscription.

As a whole, Signor Colasanti's work is careful, but longer perhaps (as we saw in the case of his former work on Fregellae) than the importance of the subject warrants.

The second of these two works—that of Sig. Grossi on Aquinum—forms a contrast. Aquinum was a place of considerable importance in ancient times, its population, in the first century of the empire, being, according to Beloch's calculations, about 20,000 to 25,000, or equal to that of Bologna, Naples, and Catania, and so, relatively, high. The first section (pp. 1-94) deals with its topography. It was situated on the Via Latina, which traversed it from end to end, in the broad valley of the Liris. Its site is now deserted, the mediaeval (and modern) town being situated a little further to the E. The Melpis (now Melfa), a tributary of the Liris, flowed, according to Strabo, past Aquinum, which it does not now do and appears not to have done even at the time of the compilation of the Tabula Peutingeriana; but Sig. Grossi states that he has recognized traces of its former course (p. 19 *sqq.*). In regard to the question of the course of the Via Latina between Fregellae and Aquinum, Sig. Grossi agrees with me in maintaining against Sig. Colasanti that the Via Latina crossed the two bridges of La Civita before 125 B.C. (p. 35).

Coming to the topography of the city itself, we find it to have occupied a roughly rectangular site, measuring some 1000 by 850 yards, surrounded by walls of blocks of hard limestone, in some places polygonal, in others roughly rectangular (while the gate on the E.—Porta S. Lorenzo—is of more carefully built *opus quadratum*). The date given to the earliest fortifications—5th cent. B.C. (p. 47)—may or may not be correct.¹ On three sides—on the fourth it was not necessary—an external ditch may be traced, measuring 170 feet wide by .16 (?) deep in the best preserved portion, where it is cut through the rock (p. 65). The measurements seem high, but in the case of Alba Fucens the width of the fosse was nearly double, and the depth about 50 ft. Within the walls remains of several public buildings exist. It is probable that the temple traditionally attributed to Ceres is really that of the three Capitoline deities, inasmuch as it has three *cellae*, while the apsidal building known as the temple of Diana was probably a basilica (p. 85). The remains of both these are in *opus quadratum*, and rise to some height above ground. The theatre and amphitheatre, both in *opus reticulatum*, are less well preserved: while outside the walls is a single arch of travertine with Ionic columns, which Sig. Grossi (surely wrongly) attributes to a nymphaeum. A number of Roman tombs were found outside the city on the W. in 1859.

The territory of Aquinum (pp. 95-130) is not easy to fix accurately, and mediaeval evidence has to be largely used. It is probably correct (p. 101 *sqq.*) to attribute to Aquinum Cicero's letter (*Ad Fam.* xiii. 76) to the *quattuorviri* of an unnamed town in relation to some land bought from them by a friend of his in the former territory of Fregellae, and it is also not impossible that the

¹ The illustrations of these walls (fig. 1, p. 49, the W. side of the city) are decidedly inadequate. shows Porta S. Lorenzo; fig. 2, p. 56, a tower on

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Saltus Galliani, qui cognominantur Aquinates of Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 115) were so called because they belonged to Aquinum; for we know that Arpinum had considerable property in Gaul (p. 105).

The last section of the book (pp. 131-210) deals at considerable length with the history of Aquinum. It is generally supposed to have been of Volscian origin. It is not mentioned in the earlier history of Rome, but it issued copper coins, probably between 268 and 217 B.C. But its importance came with the destruction of Fregellae in 125 B.C., which left it the most important city between Rome and Capua except Teanum. Cicero speaks of it as a *frequens municipium*, but it became a colony either under the Triumviri or Augustus. Its prosperity was due to agriculture, and it also had not unimportant purple dyeworks. The chapters on constitution and cults rest on a careful study of the inscriptions. The book closes with the mediaeval history of Aquinum down to its destruction in 1252 by Conrad IV., and with short notes on the most famous natives of the town—Juvenal, Pescennius Niger (?) and S. Thomas Aquinas.

The illustrations are not altogether adequate: the ancient roads should certainly have been marked upon the map of the district (No. ii.), and the photographs in the text are none too well reproduced. For the price of the book, one might expect something a little better, and the remains of Aquinum certainly deserve it. There are a number of misprints, but they do not as a rule affect the intelligibility of the text.

On the whole, however, it is a creditable piece of work; and the series as a whole will be distinctly useful. That the works it includes err, if anything, on the side of prolixity is not altogether to be deplored, especially as it may be hoped that they will inculcate in the inhabitants of the individual cities (who only acquire the volume that affects themselves) respect and love for the remains of antiquity.

THOMAS ASHBY.

WROTH'S *BYZANTINE COINS*.

Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum. By WARWICK WROTH, Assistant-Keeper of the Coins and Medals. London: printed by order of the Trustees. 1908. 2 Vols., cxii+687 (pagination continuous). 79 plates. Price £2 15s.

THESE two splendid volumes contain not only an illustrated catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the British Museum, but also a historical and numismatic summary, in which difficult and doubtful points are discussed at length; and, as in a few cases coins in other collections are described, the work practically amounts to a hand-book of Byzantine coins, and must in great measure supersede the great work of Sabatier, which naturally does not satisfy the needs of the present day. As there is no distinction between the coinage of Eastern and Western emperors, Mr. Wroth begins not with Arcadius, as Sabatier did, but with Anastasius I., the first emperor who never had a Western colleague. A full catalogue of the western barbaric imitations and of the coinage of the empires of Nicaea, Thessalonica, and Trebizond is reserved for another volume; and at least in the case of the emperors of Nicaea, the direct predecessors of the Palaeologi, the omission is unfortunate, since it leaves a gap of 57 years in the history of the coinage. An interesting part of the introduction is the discussion of the portraiture, in which Mr. Wroth arrives at the conclusion that only in a few cases, and then only to a limited extent, do the coins preserve a likeness.

Among the points on which the author throws new light I may mention the puzzling question of the Constantine and the bearded Michael who appear on the coins of Theophilus. As the beard ascribed to Constantine is now said to be only a mistake of Sabatier, there can no longer be any doubt that he was the emperor's son; on the other hand, since, except on a few coins of Heraclius and Constantine (39-45), junior colleagues are always beardless, Michael can hardly have been a son, and Mr. Wroth supposes him to be Michael II., placed on the coins by Theophilus in imitation of the practice of his Isaurian predecessors. He has not however noticed the difference that in the earlier coins the dead emperors appear on one side and the living on the other, while in this case Michael appears in conjunction with Constantine, and the two are coupled as 'Michael et Constantinus', a scarcely credible combination of living and dead. If however we suppose the coins to have been issued after Constantine's death, this difficulty vanishes. The African coins ascribed

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by Sabatier to Theodosius III. Mr. Wroth assigns to Theodosius, son of Maurice; and that they are of this period numismatic authority is decisive; but the appearance of Theodosius alone upon coins needs explanation.

On a few matters, chiefly of chronology, Mr. Wroth's statements require correction. Thus he says that Tiberius II. became Augustus and sole ruler in Sept. 578, whereas from 26 Sept. to 5 Oct. he was the colleague of Justin. Of more consequence is it that, while he says that the birth of Heraclonas is placed by Bury in 615, by Pernice in 626, he accepts the earlier date, which is certainly wrong. Heraclonas was born in Persia (Niceph. p. 15), and the son born in 615 was a second Constantine, who was made Caesar, and died in 629 (id. p. 22). The third figure on the dated coins 420-423 cannot therefore be Heraclonas, but, if not Martina, must be the Caesar Constantine, as is in fact assumed in the Thomsen Catalogue to which Mr. Wroth refers. Further, the first year of Constans' residence in Sicily, to which Mr. Wroth assigns the dated coins 371-375, was not 662, but 664 (ind. 7); and ind. 11 (coins 354-357), as the indictional year began on 1 Sept., is 653 rather than 652. Again, the brothers of Constantine IV., whom Mr. Wroth calls Caesars, were certainly Augusti. Theophanes indeed says that they were not crowned, but he afterwards (A.M. 6173) implies the contrary; and that this is correct is proved by the acts of the 6th Synod, in which they are not distinguished from their brother by the title 'Caesar' and the years are reckoned by their *βασιλεία*. Lastly, by assuming (I do not know on what ground) that Justinian II. was associated in the empire in 680, though he notes that he never appears with his father on the coins, he has introduced confusion into the chronology of that emperor's coinage. For the incorrectness of the date it is only necessary to refer to the last *Actio* of the 6th Synod, held 16 Sept., 681. Theophanes places the association in 681/2; but from the official dating of Justinian's years it is certain that it did not take place before Feb. 685 (Mansi xi. 738), and, if we may trust the epitaph of Ceadwalla (Bede *H.E.* v. 8), it was not before April. His 25th year therefore is not 705, but 709/10, and there is no reason to doubt the dating of coins of the 1st and 2nd years (p. 335), or of the 20th year (p. 355). Certainly Tiberius can hardly have been crowned before the expiration of the 20th year, but from the frequency of such round numbers one may suspect that they are not always exact. In the reigns of Leo III. and Constantine V. Mr. Wroth, rightly, as I believe, follows the old chronology in preference to that adopted by Professor Bury and M. Lombard, but inconsistently places the battle of Acroinus in 739 instead of 740.

In the section devoted to the inscriptions it might have been added that Constantine Ducas is the first to place his surname on the coins as part of his official style.¹

The extraordinary 'Excubiti' (p. xx, l. 5) must surely be a misprint.

E. W. BROOKS.

¹ It is found on some of the coins of Constantine Monomachus (16-18), but not as part of his title.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. 21. 3. 1908.

J. Geflick, *Kaiser Julianus und die Streitschriften seiner Gegner*. Summary and criticism of the Emperor's work against the Galileans (chief importance that it preserves much of the older polemic), and the replies of Ephraim the Syrian, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom and Cyrill. The latter described as full of fanaticism, without genuine, glowing passion. G. Finsler, *Homer in der italienischen Renaissance*. Latin translations; Basini's *Hesperis*; Politian's tribute to the poet in his *Ambra*, Ariosto and Vida's *Christias*. Influence of Aristotle's Poetics. Trissino's *L'Italia liberata da' Gotti*: he attacks Ariosto, who is defended by Cinthio, for neglecting Aristotle's rules. Beni in comparing Homer, Vergil, Tasso gives the palm to the latter, as following those rules most closely. Tassoni's attack on Homer. E. Ermatinger, *Das Romantische bei Wieland*. [22. 3 F. Schemmel, *Die Hochschule von Konstantinopel im 4. Jahrhundert p. Ch. n.*]

21. 4. 1908.

E. Kornemann, *Stadtstaat und Flächenstaat des Altertums in ihren Wechselbeziehungen*. Asia and Egypt are the regions where the *Flächenstaat* begins, Europe is the chief field of the city state. Sparta was never a pure city state, and to Spartans πόλις means a community of Perioeci. The reforms of Clisthenes changed Athens from a city state into a *Flächenstaat*. In the peace of Antalcidas the *Flächenstaat* triumphed and the Greek system of city states was condemned thereby to political barrenness. At Pergamum the mixture of the two kinds of city produced a constitutional monarchy not unlike that of Augustus. Rome's development was not dissimilar, but in the period when the republic became a monarchy the city state became definitely a *Flächenstaat*. E. Bruhn, *Q. Ciceros Handbüchlein für Wahlbewerber*. A genuine work. The fact that in § 5 Q. speaks frankly of matters which it would be Cicero's policy to obscure does not prove that the work was not intended for publication: Q. was notoriously tactless (see Cicero's second letter to him, § 6). It is however probable that it was not published, as our text shews signs of having come from Q.'s own rough copy, and that Cicero introduced the echoes in the *In toga candida* as a compliment to his brother. E. Ermatinger, *Das Romantische bei Wieland*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: A. Gudeman's *Grundriss der Geschichte der klass. Philologie* and Kroll's *Geschichte der klass. Philologie* favourably noticed by O. Immisch.

21. 5. 1908.

C. Schuchhardt, *Hof, Burg und Stadt bei Germanen und Griechen*. Traces in Germany of a development from a citadel of refuge, with a prince's palace at its foot, to a citadel inhabited by a prince with an unwalled city growing up around it. In Greece we find in the Mycenaean period and Homer clear evidence of the second stage:

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πόλις meant originally the citadel, ἄστυ the settlement about it. But it is also possible to trace the earlier stage, of royal palaces that do not stand on a citadel and of refuge-citadels. Consideration of Olympia, Athens, Rome and Pergamum from this point of view. H. Jordan, *Die Dramatisierung von Aischylos' Tragödie*. Aeschylus' early plays lack the concentration around a single point so essential for drama. In the *Seven against Thebes* the tragic hero and the tragic moment appear. In the *Prometheus* comes dramatic action; the different scenes are held together by the will of an individual, but Prometheus is too stiff and inflexible: if tragedy was to become drama, intellectual forces must come into action so that there might really be action on one person by another and real scope for two or more adversaries. The *Suppliants* realises this requirement, but it lacks the element of horror and loses in tragic what it gains in dramatic interest. Perfection of the *Agamemnon*. W. Soltau, *Humanität und Christentum in ihren Beziehungen zur Sklaverei*. Theory of ancient philosophy and religious views in the first century after Christ. The Practice. P. Simon, *Schillers Nanie*. F. Marx, *Franz Buecheler*. Obituary (with portrait). *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: R. Reitzenstein, *Zu Horaz. Odes 3. 14 (esp. o plebs)* illustrated from a papyrus passage announcing the accession of Hadrian; *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904-1905*, summarised by H. Lamer. [22. 5. 1908. E. Borst, *Humanistische und realistische Bildung in England*.]

21. 6. 1908.

G. Thiele, *Die vorliterarische Fabel der Griechen*. The ancient beast-tales, beast-jests and beast dialogues much older than the time when they received literary treatment (Esop). The Greeks, with their love for dialogue, much affect that form of beast-jest: the 'cockney' Phaedrus ruins much of the point. Another popular form is the 'epilogic' proverb. The 'Libyan' fables were probably originally fables about lions, the term afterwards embracing all beast-fables. The word αἶνος is applied to a fable from the point of view of its moral or satiric tendency. P. Corsen, *Donarem pateras*. Rejects both Beck's and Elter's defence of *Odes 4. 8*. The objections to ll. 15-19 shewn to be convincing. The 'interpolation' is, however, quite early—indeed Horace may have written the poem in two forms and our text be due to some clumsy combination of them. E. Wilisch, *Zehn Jahre amerikanischer Ausgrabung in Korinth*. Summary of results, with a map: continuous development of vases (prae-Mycenaean, geometric, proto-Corinthian, old Corinthian, but no Mycenaean kind), clay figures mostly ancient, works of sculpture mostly belong to Roman Corinth. Inscriptions of Greek Corinth very scanty, thanks to Mummius. The well-houses of Pirene and Glaucæ, with another in the market which belongs in the main to the fifth century, and other buildings (theatre, porticoes, etc.). The discovery of Pirene the key to Corinth's topography.

21. 7. 1908.

E. König, *Babyloniens Einfluss auf die Kulturgeschichte*. In such things as numeration, mensuration, music, painting, legislation, B.'s influence important, but by no means unlimited. In the conception of history and historical composition others (esp. Jews and Greeks) have done much more for civilisation. R. Helm, *Zwei Probleme des Taciteischen Dialogus*. Composed after the *Agricola* in 98. Cicero was the natural model for a dialogue, as Seneca probably was for *Germania* and Sallust was for *Agricola*: hence the style. As for the *synopsis* at the beginning of the book, apparently entirely alien from its theme, it reads like a *protrepticus* and is probably largely due to a similar section of the Ciceronian Hortensius. It is of course *apo-treptic* in Tac., who speaks in it his farewell to oratory. E. Schwyzer, *Neugriechische Syntax und altgriechische*. Attributes neglect of κοινή syntax to lack of a new and middle Greek

1908.

Summary and that it preserves history Nazianzen, without genuine, in translations; da's *Christias*. attacks Ariosto, comparing Homer, Tassoni's F. Schemmel,

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syntax. Brief account of some syntactic features of modern (popular) Greek, with special reference to ancient Greek. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: J. J., *Menander in Lauchstedt*, describes a performance of *Epitrepontes* and *Samia*.

21. 8.

W. Kroll, *Die Originalität Vergils*. V. combined the magnitude of a cyclic poem with the spirit (romance etc.) of Alexandrian epic; above all, his rhetoric is his own, and the speeches are really independent creations. Traces of the rhetorical schools in the Aeneid (enthymema, points, gnomes, passionate appeals, pathetic asyndeta, parataxis for hypotaxis etc.). In excursus denies Vergil's authorship of Cat. 9 (11). R. Stübe, *Tschinghischan*. R. Petsch, *Gerhart Hauptmann und die Tragödie des xix Jahrhunderts*. *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen*: S. Reiter, *Ein Doppelbrief von Buecheler und Ritschl an F. Dübner*; Seymour's *Life in the Homeric Age* favourably reviewed by P. Cauer, who however complains that the author adopts no decisive attitude in ref. to the problems involved; Witte's *Singular and Plural* reviewed by Hans Meltzer ('carried out systematically, with rich results, and full of stimulus'); Hirsel's *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* noticed by W. Kroll; the results of Dalmeyda's *Goethe et le drame antique* summed up by T. Vogel.

[22. 8. K. Bone, *Fort mit der Grammatik aus der Lektüre*.]

Rheinisches Museum. 63. 2. 1908.

W. Crönert, *Corinnae quae supersunt*. Text, with testimonia, of all the fragments (including those in the Berlin papyrus 284). F. Buecheler, *Prosopographica*. C. Cichorius, *Panaitios und die attische Stoikerinschrift*. On a list of *ἱεπονοῖοι* for the Ptolemaea, I.G. 2. 953. Σπύριος and Λεύκιος are Sp. Mummius (brother of the notorious Mummius) and L. Metellus (who shared with Scipio Minor and Panaetius in the famous embassy to the East). The archonship of Lysides, to which the celebration belongs, is probably to be assigned to the year 139, when the embassy seems to have visited Athens on its way home. The numerous 'new citizens' whom Crönert has discovered in the list were probably fugitive professors, etc., from Alexandria. Its Posidonius, Aristarchus and Apollodorus may be respectively the philosopher, the great critic's son, and the chronographer. The order followed in the list is based on the persons' ages. R. Sabbadini, *Bencius Alexandrinus und der Cod. Veronensis des Ausonius*. The MS. from which B. cites from the *Catalogus urbium* and *Ludus sapientium* is probably the original from which the former poem was copied into empty pages of the Cod. Tilianus and from which Petrarch's MS. got the *Ludus*. H. Rabe, *Die Platon-Handschrift* Ω. Bekker's Vat. 796, Ω, is Vat. gr. 1. Marginal variants to Leg. 1 and 5 given as a specimen. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchstudien*. 1. Parisinus 1678 used to shew that the letter which precedes the extant catalogue of P.'s works is a fourteenth century forgery, based on Suidas' Lamprias article. 2. Probable on textual grounds that the three volume recension of the Biographies is the older. C. Thulin, *Eine altfatiskische Vaseninschrift*. H. Kallenberg, *Textkritisches zu Diodor in Anlehnung an die Excerpta Vaticana*. Cases where the excerpts and F share readings preferable to those of the other MSS. O. Seeck, *Das Leben des Dichters Porphyrius*. An African (*Paneg.* 16. 16-22): the Bassus of poem 21 probably the consul of 317. Perhaps banished as one of the authorities who, relying on Licinius' protection, compelled Christians to sacrifice to Pagan gods. P. enables us to put the execution of Crispus in May or June of the year 326. S. Sudhaus, *Die Perikeiromene*. A. Brinkmann, *Johannes des Mildtätigen Leben des heil.*

Tychon. Discussion of Usener's alterations of the text and of passages that require emendation. *Miscellen*: P. Thielscher, *Manil.* 1. 25-29. Defence of the text of cod. Lipsiensis. L. Radermacher, *ὡς ὅμοιος und Verwandtes*. M. P. Nilsson, *Zu Zeis Karabärys*. F. Bücheler, *Zum Stadtrecht von Bantia*. In *acunum VI nesimum* the first word represents *annum*: for the whole expression cp. *Lex Tarentina*. M. Ihm, *Ciuitas Buesarensis. Darenus*. W. Vollgraff, *Das Alter der neolith. Kultur in Kreta*. Evans mistaken in supposing that soil accumulated more slowly in the earlier period: clay huts may be assumed for this (as there are no traces of stone houses) and the level of the soil would rise very rapidly, as e.g. was the case in Egypt ($\frac{1}{2}$ m. per century).

63. 3. 1908.

Edd., *Zu F. Bücheler's Gedächtniss* (portrait); F. Bücheler, *Saturnier des Tuditanus* *nos. 625/129*. Restoration of the inscription represented by (a) C.I.L. v. 8270, (b) stone discovered by Maionica. F. Solmsen, *Ein dorisches Komödienbruchstück*. Fragment of Phyllyllion (Pollux 10. 58) to read *ἐς τὰς πινυκίδος δ' ἀμπεριῶς ὅτι κα λέγοι | τὰ γράμμαθ', ἰππάρει*: its Greek points to the Doric of N.E. Peloponnese. A. Roemer, *Zur Kritik und Exegese der Frösche des Aristophanes*. Much use made of scholia. At the end supports Bernays' view of the *κάθαρσις* (aesthetic, not ethico-didactic). A. v. Mess, *Die Hellenika von Oxyrhynchos*. Theopompus cannot be the author. Whoever he may be, he is an Athenian aristocrat, with a leaning towards Sparta and yet interest in Conon. Aristocratic tendency in Athenian historians not impossible: witness some of the Attides used by Diodorus, and the constitutional history embodied in the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*. Date and attitude to rhetoric (probably there were no speeches) suit Cratippus. E. Bickel, *De epitaphio Senecae*. Language (position of *ilicet*, phrases like *deus euocat, hospita terra, sollemnibus saxis, animam caelo reddimus* etc.) points to late Christian writer as the author. M. Pokrowskij, *Nochmals in- priuatiuum im Lateinischen*. Answer to Hruschka's criticisms of the author's paper, *Rh. M.* 52.427 sqq. H. Rabe, *Euripideum*. Discovery of a leaf of B, containing Rhesus 899-940 with scholia: confirms view as to Pal. 98 having been copied from the MS. before the loss of this leaf. W. Bannier, *Die Beziehungen der älteren altischen Uebergabe und Rechnungsurkunden zu einander*. L. Radermacher, *Motiv und Persönlichkeit*. Some of Margites' *puerilia* ascribed to Melitides, Amphietes and Coroebus. The first name = 'scion of Melita,' the pet dogs of the island standing for effeminacy. The second name is a Dionysiac surname: cp. *μυρτόρεος εἰ Μορίχου* quoted by Zenobius with comment *Μορίχου δὲ Διονύσου ἱεῖδον*. His question as to whether it was his father who bore him suits this view. Meaning of the name Margites. R. Engelmann, *Das Mosaikrelief*. Maintains his view that no genuine ones exist: two so-called ones at Naples are plaster casts of the Vatican candelabrum figures, with the surface coloured and made to look like mosaic by a network of white lines. *Miscellen*: A. Elter, *Canius a Gadibus und Linius Poenus*. These names in the *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum* (Migne xi p. 254) come from Mart. 1. 61 (Poenon representing Apona of the epigram). M. Gothein, *Der Titel von Statius' Silvae*. Poems suitable for reading in the shade or walks of the 'silua' or park of the Roman mansion. O. Seeck, *Die Quinquennalfiern des Licinius*. Held in 323: the law of Constantine referred to on p. 273 was not passed until Nov. 11, 323. F. B., *Zur lat. Semannssprache*. *Tutarchus* in *Hyg. fab.* 14 means *τοῦχατος*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1908.

- 5 June. *Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprachen*, herausg. von P. Kretschmer und Fr. Skutsch. I, 1 (R. Meister). *Stromata in honorem C. Morawski* (C. Weyman). Consisting of papers on Greek literature, Latin literature, Latin epigraphy, Classical philology, Classical archaeology, and late-Latin poetry. G. Murray, *The rise of the Greek epic* (Chr. Harder). 'The author has brilliantly performed his task.' G. Norwood, *The riddle of the Bacchae* (W. Nestle), favourable on the whole. H. Elms, *Untersuchungen über den Stil und die Sprache des Venantius Fortunatus* (C. W.), favourable. *Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Römerreiches*. Lief. 30 (M. Ihm).
- 12 June. E. Petersen, *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia* (A. Köster), very favourable. A. Döring, *Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie* (A. Bonhöffer), favourable. R. Knorr, *Die verzierten Terra-Sigillata-Gefäße von Rottweil* (C. Koenen), very favourable. Fr. Kramer, *Afrika in seinen Beziehungen zur antiken Kulturwelt* (J. Ziehen), very favourable. A. S. Pease, *Notes on St. Jerome's tractates on the Psalms* (C. W.). Reprinted from the Journal of Biblical Literature, Vol. 26, Part 2.
- 19 June. *Pauly's Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausg. von G. Wissowa, 11. Halbband (Fr. Harder). *Ephoros-Eutykos*. T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric age* (Chr. Harder), favourable. N. Lundquist, *Studia Lucanea* (Th. Stangl), very favourable. H. Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie von Capua und von Niedergermanien* (C. Koenen), favourable. G. Mau, *Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians* (R. Asmus) I.
- 26 June. Fr. Döring, *De legum Platoniarum compositione* (G. Lehnert), favourable. M. Schamberger, *De P. Papinio Statii verborum novatore* (Th. Stangl), favourable. G. Mau, *Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians* (R. Asmus) II, very favourable.
- 3 July. J. W. White, *Enoplic metre in Greek comedy* (H. G.), favourable. T. R. Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the invasions of Julius Caesar* (R. Oehler). 'The work can be warmly recommended both to the learned and to pupils.' *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti*. Suppl. IV: *Taciti dialogus et Germania, Suetonii de viris illustribus fragmentum. Codex Leidensis Perizonianus*. Praefatus est G. Wissowa (G. Andresen). Fr. Hache, *Quaestiones archaicae: I. De Gellio veteris sermonis imitatore. II. De Ennii Euhemero* (Th. Stangl), favourable on the whole. Krüger, *Jahresbericht des Provinzialmuseums in Trier, 1905/1906* (C. Koenen). E. Oekonomides, *Lautlehre des Pontischen* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.
- 10 July. A. Trendelenburg, *Die Anfangsstrecke der heiligen Strasse in Delphi* (K. Loeschhorn), very favourable. *Aristotle De Anima*, by R. D. Hicks (A. Döring). 'Makes the impression of great care and accuracy.' *The Works of Aristotle*, transl. under the editorship of J. A. Smith. I. *The Parva Naturalia*. II. *De lineis insecabilibus* (A. Döring), favourable. A. Cartault, *A propos du Corpus Tibullianum* (H. Belling). 'A diligent and complete collection of reviews.' *Antibarbarus* von J. Ph. Krebs. 7. Aufl. von J. H. Schmalz (Th. Stangl), very favourable.
- 17 July. H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2. Aufl. II, 1. (A. Döring), favourable. A. Hauvette, *Les épigrammes de Callimaque* (L. Weber), very favourable. W. Dittberner, *Issos. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (A. Janke), favourable. *Ciceronis in Catilinam orationes IV*, par M. Levaillant (W. Barczat). *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis* mit Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von L. Friedländer. 2. Aufl. (E. Lommatsch), favourable.
- 24 July. B. Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel* (A. Wiedemann), favourable. K. v. Garnier, *Die Präposition als sinnverstärkendes Präfix im Rigveda* (Helbing), favourable. K. Reik, *Der Optativ bei Polybios und Philo von Alexandria* (Helbing), favourable. J. Wagner, *Die metrischen Hypothesen zu Aristophanes* (K. Loeschhorn), very favourable. *Horatius*, erkl. von A. Kiessling.

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III. *Briefe*. 3. Aufl. von R. Heinze (Petri). W. Bruckner, *Über den Barditus* (U. Zernial), favourable. F. Keseling, *De mythographi Vaticani secundi fontibus* (E. Neustadt), very favourable.

7 August. A. Müller, *Das griechische Drama und seine Wirkungen bis zur Gegenwart* (Chr. Muff), favourable. G. Müller, *De Aeschyli supplicum tempore atque indole* (F. Adami), favourable. H. Kewes, *De Xenophontis Anabases apud Suidam reliquis* (W. Gemoll). 'Deserves all praise.' R. Müller, *Quaestionum Xenophontearum capita duo* (W. Gemoll), rather unfavourable. J. Geffcken, *Sokrates und das alte Christentum* (B. v. Hagen), favourable. P. Melcher, *De sermone Epicteteo quibus rebus ab Attica regula discedat* (Helbing), favourable. Seneca, *The tragedies*, transl. by F. J. Miller (W. Gemoll). 'Of value to a person of general education.' G. W. van Bleek, *Quae de hominum post mortem condicio doceant carmina sepulcralia latina* (M. Manitius), favourable. G. M. Dreves, *Hymnologische Studien zu Venantius Fortunatus und Rabanus Maurus* (J. Dräseke), favourable. F. S. Krauss, *Slavische Volksforschungen* (A. Wiedemann), very favourable.

14 August. T. L. Agar, *Homericæ. Emendations and Elucidations of the Odyssey* (P. D. Ch. Hennings) I. R. Helbing, *Grammatik der Septuaginta. Laut- und Wortlehre* (A. Thumb), favourable. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten. Das Neue Testament und die neu entdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (W. Soltau), favourable. *Ausgewählte Schriften des Lucian*, ed. von J. Sommerbrodt. II. *Nigrinus. Der Hahn. Ikaromenippus*. 2. Aufl. von R. Helm (P. Schulze). 'Excellent for teachers, not for pupils.' K. Münscher, *Die Philostrate* (G. Lehnert), favourable. E. Löfstedt, *Spätlateinische Studien* (Th. Stangl), favourable. Ch. Huelsen, *La pianta di Roma dell' anonimo Einsidlense and La Roma antica di Ciriaco d'Ancona* (J. Ziehen).

28 August. A. D. Keramopulos, *Führer durch Delphi* (A. Trendelenburg), favourable. T. L. Agar, *Homericæ. Emendations and Elucidations of the Odyssey* (P. D. Ch. Hennings) II. 'No specialist can study the book without enjoyment.' O. Fredershausen, *De iure Plautini et Terentiano*, Cap. I. (B. Kübler), favourable. *Ciceronis orationes: Divination in Caecilium. In C. Verrem*. Rec. W. Peterson (J. Tolkiehn), favourable on the whole. *Suetonii opera*, ex rec. M. Ihm. Vol. I. *De vita Caesarum libri VIII* (Th. Opitz), favourable. R. Cagnat, *Les deux camps de la légion IIIe Auguste à Lambèse* (M. J.), favourable. A. Gudeman, *Grundriss der Geschichte der klassischen Philologie* (J. Ziehen). 'Will perform good service.' W. Kroll, *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie* (J. Ziehen), favourable.

NUMISMATIC.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 2. 1908.

Sir John Evans. *On some rare or unpublished Roman Gold Coins*. Chiefly Imperial: among them is one of the very rare coins of Balbinus. A sesterlius of Antoninus Pius with a variety of the 'Britannia' type is described, p. 194. In the *Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society*, printed in this Part, is an obituary notice of Sir John Evans (pp. 25-30), who died May 31, 1908. His work on the *Coins of the Ancient Britons* was published in 1864; an important 'Supplement' (not referred to in this notice) appeared in 1890.

Revue belge de numismatique. Part 3. 1908.

J. N. Svoronos. *Leçons numismatiques*. Translated into French from Svoronos's Greek lectures. This part deals with primitive currencies.

Revue numismatique. Part 1. 1908.

A. de Foville. *Récents acquisitions du Cabinet des médailles; monnaies grecques d'Italie et de Sicile.* Rare coins of Etruria, etc.—Froehner. *Un nouveau légat de Sicile.* A bronze coin (*rev. Hispanorum*) inscribed on *obv.* L. IVNI. LEG. SIC.—R. Mowat. *Le titre d'Augusta conféré à Maesa, à Soemias et à Mammée par Septime Sévère, à propos de monnaies monétaires trouvés en Égypte.*

Part 2. 1908.

E. Babelon. *L'iconographie et ses origines dans les types monétaires grecs.* An interesting article in which the writer discusses the certain or probable instances of portraiture on coins struck chiefly in the fifth and fourth centuries, and before the period of the Diadochi—the time when, according to the common view, coin-portraits are supposed to make their first appearance. Such portraits are especially to be looked for on coins struck under Persian influence—the money (*e.g.*) of the active satraps Pharnabazus and Tiribazus—and in the long series of Persian gold *darics*, in which Babelon detects the portraits, or rather the attempted portraits, of Darius I. and his successors. The coins of Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium display, as is well known, a mule-car in commemoration of his victory at Olympia, and in some representations of the driver of the car, the portrait of Anaxilas himself is apparently intended. A somewhat analogous case is to be found in the silver staters of Philip II. of Macedon, which have on the reverse a horseman, usually a youthful figure, but in some cases a bearded rider, probably Philip himself.—A. Blanchet. *Monnaie avec la représentation de Jehovah.* A brief notice (pp. 276, 277) of this remarkable coin, usually attributed to Gaza, suggested by a recent article by Mr. E. J. Pilcher.

Revue Suisse de numismatique. Vol. xiv. Part 1. 1908.

Pages 1-174 are occupied with the second and concluding portion of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's article *Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde*. A large number of the coins described are from the new collection that the author has been forming, chiefly, I believe, of coins of Asia Minor. These papers are welcome, like all other contributions from Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's pen, for they supply new and valuable material, and, at the same time, correct erroneous or incomplete descriptions of coins previously published. In the present paper the coins of Asia Minor from Lydia onwards are described, also various miscellaneous coins of Europe and some 'uncertain' pieces (with six Plates and Index to the whole series).

WARWICK WROTH.

IN MEMORIAM

JOHN HENRY WRIGHT, Professor of Greek in Harvard University, Associate Editor of *THE CLASSICAL REVIEW*, 1889-1906, and of *THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY*, 1907-1908, born February 4, 1852, at Urumyah, Persia, died November 25, 1908, at Cambridge, Mass.

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